AKWESASNE NOTES

LATE WINTER/1982

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

Subcription: $8/Year

News-stand Price: $1.50

Several Mayan children at a Mexican refugee camp were asked to draw "what you remember of your country." This is one of their pictures.

IN THIS ISSUE:

HOW IT IS WITH US

DENNIS BANKS AT THE SIX NATIONS 4

NICARAGUA: Deceptions Cloud the Issues 9

PETERSON ZAH: An Interview with the new Navajo Tribal Chairman 12

MAYA/QUICHE COUNTRY:
The Protestant Inquisition — Second Forced Conversion of Guatemala 15

CENTERFOLD - Drawings by Guatemalan Children Refugees 16

LET US ACT TO RE-EMPOWER THE PEOPLE 23

WATT LIES BEHIND THESE REMARKS? 24

TOBIQUE - MALISEET NATION: Fishermen Charged with Illegal Fishing 25

NATIVE CHILD: The Butterfly and the Little People 26

BOOK REVIEWS 27

SHORT NOTES 29

POETRY 32

Our work moves forward in small and often nearly invisible ways, but sometimes it does move forward. For example, this issue we can report that little by little the progressive press is beginning to carry the truth about the Indian war in Nicaragua and questioning the veracity of the Managua government.

President Reagan has announced plans to end the U.S. policy of Termination, and he has made some promising statements concerning recognition of at least some aspects of the sovereignty of Native nations. We aren't exactly throwing our collective hats in the air, but Reagan's Indian policy statement does contain a number of positive (if only promisory) notes. Experience has taught us to be distrustful, but some of the words are interesting.

The situation in Guatemala continues to be a nightmare. This issue we were saddened by the drawings by Guatemalan Indian children which illustrate the reality of that tortured land. Right-wing and evangelical apologists state that the reports of massacres in western Guatemala are fabrications or actions of the guerrillas, but little children draw what they have seen and what they saw were helicopters. Our thanks to Mr. Steven Gaskin and the Plenty International organization for these drawings and Mr. Gaskin's fine article. The U.S. press continues to portray Gen. Rios Montt as a reformer when the fact is... well, you can read the facts in this issue.

A lot of news never made it to the printer because we didn't have enough room. We simply don't have the money to expand to be able to publish the volume of news we would like.

We are also trying to find ways to live out the philosophies which you find in our pages. We strongly urge Native peoples to move toward self-sufficiency, to find ways to raise their own food, build shelters, and to live more in harmony with Mother Earth.

We at the NOTES have been minimally successful in our efforts to follow our own advice. We can attest to the real difficulties encountered on the road to self-sufficiency. We, too, lack sufficient land and, often, time and skills to raise our food and build energy efficient buildings. Yet, Spring is coming and with it our determination to move further in that direction.

We organize, we struggle, we discover and invent alternative ways of doing things, and sometimes we experience setbacks. Now, we reorganize, we re-enter struggle, and we engage new alternatives. That's how it is with us.

— Needed for Notes —

File folders (letter size), batteries (all sizes), scotch tape, index cards (2X3), garbage bags (large), yellow ruled pads, scissors, letter openers, paper clips, staplers and staples, envelopes (all sizes) and extension cords.

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne.

NOTES PEOPLE

Carol, Charlene, Forrest, Jose, Tsiorasa, Katsi, Angie, RoseAnn, Dyan, Kaientanoron, Kaientares, Wasentiio, John, Chaske, Ray, Toronwe, Debbie, Mark, Tioronse, Hawie, Karoniahawi, Rokwaho, Priscilla, Kaherawaks, baby, and Ron.

— MICROFILM —

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms
($4.60 and $6.00/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

KTO Microform
Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.
Rte 100
Milwood, New York 10546

Bell & Howell Microfilm Division
Old Mansfield Rd.
Wooster, OH 44691

BACK ISSUES FOR $10.00

A set of back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available for $10.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately eighteen issues of the newspaper in a set.
Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have need of this invaluable repository of information.
Sets of back issues will be mailed out as the order arrives.

— NOTICE — AKWESASNE NOTES DOES NOT ACCEPT PAID ADVERTISING

We receive many letters of inquiry from people who would like us to advertise their events and products. Our mailing permit does not allow us to accept paid advertising.

A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductable. The Youth Project of Washington D.C., a public foundation under 501-C-3 of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.
Please note that subscription fees are not tax-deductible.

AKWESASNE NOTES is published six times annually: February, April, June, August, October and December.
Editorial and circulation offices are maintained in the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne near Rooseveltown, New York.
2ND CLASS POSTAGE Paid at Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683 and at Additional Mailing Office, USPS 956640.
Postmaster: Send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
(518) 358-9531

Recipient: Grant from the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism (1975), Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalisms Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972).
Member: Alternative Press Syndicate.

This issue printed by M.R.S. Printing, Gouverneur, New York.

CHANGING YOUR ADDRESS?????

This newspaper will not be automatically forwarded by your post office. Instead, we are notified that you have moved, which cost us a quarter. You lose your paper, and we lose a quarter for each return.

If for some reason you're getting two copies and need only one, please send us BOTH address labels so we can find the duplication.

YOUR MAIL LABEL

Look at the front page — check your address label. If it is marked with a red slash, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you.

All correspondence regarding your subscription must include your mail label. PLEASE HELP US BE EFFICIENT BY SENDING US YOUR MAIL LABEL. From it, we know which file number on which to locate your subscription, also your subscription expiration date is on the label. Without this information it takes 2 months to find you! Please help us find you quickly by sending your mail label.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIBERS — PLEASE NOTE

PLEASE — When you send a postal money order send us a letter indicating what you have ordered. The post office does not list ordered items on the money order. A letter will speed the process of mailing your order. Thank you.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIBERS

The bank charges us $10.00 to change foreign money to U.S. money. Please send U.S. postal money order to help reduce this problem.

CHANGE IN DISCOUNT RATES

Effective January 6, 1983

Notes Books 12 or more 25 percent
Other Books 12 or more 20 percent
Newspapers 50 or more 50 percent
Posters 100 or more 40 percent.

AKWESASNE NOTES PRESENTS A NEW

Datebook

— New Pictures
— Up-dated, Revised

The AKWESASNE NOTES DATEBOOK features a calendar for each month, and you can fill in the month so your Datebook is always current. Each month includes a page of beautiful illustrations and quotes which will always remind us to keep ourselves in harmony with the Creator.

Datebook — $3.00

THE ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS 32

UNITY UNDER CREATION 13

CHIEF JOSEPH

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

SHRINE OF HYPOCRISY 24

ZUNI GOVERNOR 5

PAINTED TIPI 30

WINTU WOMAN 23

GRANDMA HUNTER 8

RUSH GATHERER 20

POUNDMAKER 9

NATIVE WOMAN
(color) $4.00

Order posters from AKWESASNE NOTES.

ORDER FORM

3 for $5.00 or $2.00 each

PLEASE PREPAY ORDERS

SHIP THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW TO:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

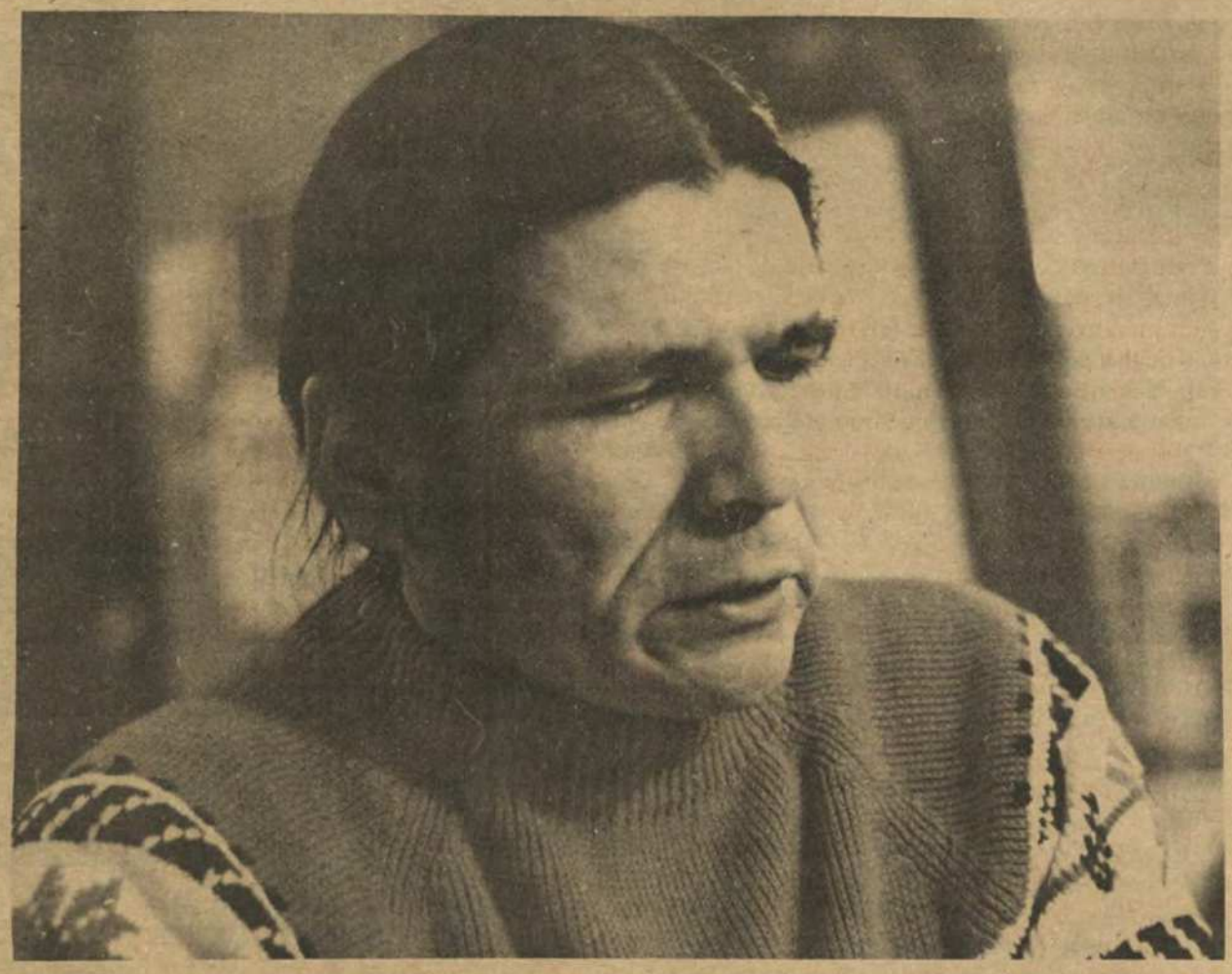
.....

HOW MANY	ITEM	PRICE	TOTAL

plus 25 cents shipping charge

DENNIS BANKS AT THE SIX NATIONS

AIM founder seeks sanctuary, in support of struggle against South Dakota's dual system of justice.



Banks: "...perhaps the most solid base of friendship, the kind of environment and the political surroundings and the close connection and ties to the traditional beliefs found us heading towards Six Nations territory..."

Editors' note: Dennis Banks, a founder of the American Indian Movement, and a consistent activist on behalf of Native causes, is currently seeking sanctuary in New York State. Banks, 52, faces a possible 15-year sentence for his 1975 conviction in Custer, South Dakota, on assault and riot charges.

Banks was granted sanctuary for several years in California by then-governor Jerry Brown. Brown's decision to not extradite Banks to the jurisdiction of South Dakota Governor William Janklow was founded on his opinion that the South Dakota prison system would be a hostile environment for the Indian activist. Governor William Janklow was once prosecuted by Banks and convicted in Tribal Court (Rosebud Reservation) for his rape of a 15-year-old Indian girl. He has publicly stated that the way to handle A.I.M. leaders is to "put a bullet in their heads."

The recently-elected new governor of California, George Deukmajian, went on record with his intent to extradite Banks to the jurisdiction of South Dakota, at the very moment he took office. Banks, of course, decided not to wait. In January, 1983, he sought and recieved sanctuary from the sovereign Onondaga Chiefs, who agreed to "give him shelter under the Great Tree of Peace." Through his attorney, William Kunstler, Banks is currently negotiating with New York Governor Mario Cuomo for sanctuary from extradiction in New York State.

In the following AKWESASNE NOTES exclusive interview, conducted in one of the sovereign Haudeenosaune Territories, Dennis Banks discusses his current situation, the background of his conviction in the Custer incident and his successful prosecution of Governor Janklow in tribal court for rape of a minor--an event which many believe is the real cause for the continuing persecution of the A.I.M. founder.

***AN:** We'd like to start by asking you about the actions that precipitated your movements at this point. What was the situation in the state of California? When was it that the new governor took office?*

Banks: Governor Deukmajian took office on January 2nd. I had been given sanctuary in California by governor Brown, - Governor Jerry Brown in April of 1978. I had petitioned the governor to deny extradition in 1976 when I was arrested in California, at the house of Lee Brightman and Trudy, both very good friends of mine. It took us 22 months — during that time fighting extradition. And we immediately, of course, petitioned him and asked for a governor's hearing. In that 22 months we collected 1,400,000 signatures in California, and in addition to that approximately another 100,000 came from Europe, and approximately 50,000 came from outside the state of California — from South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico. Finally because he wasn't acting quick enough the governor of South Dakota, William Janklow, initiated a lawsuit in California attempting to force the governor to send me back. The Third District Court of Appeals in Sacramento ruled originally that Governor Brown had to send me back to South Dakota. Governor Brown appealed that to the California Supreme Court and on the 16th of April they ruled that only the governor had that power to decide and that the decision rested with him — not with the courts. So they ruled, and then two days later he officially notified the state of South Dakota that he was denying extradition.

But Governor Brown couldn't run for a third term — he's restricted by law. He decided instead to run for the United States Senate. Unfortunately he was defeated. The governors' race was between a black man by the name of Tom Bradly, who is now the mayor of Los Angeles, and the attorney general George Deukmajian. During the campaign for the governorship, Deukmajian indicated that he would send me back to South Dakota just as soon as he became elected govenor. And he was.

***AN:** Is he a law and order candidate? Deukmajian?*

Banks: When he won the attorney generals position Deukmajian ran on a law and order platform in 1978. He did mention my name in connection to an answer to a question that was possed to him in 1978. He said he deplored Governor Brown's decision, that we couldn't have criminals running around the state. After he was elected in November of 1982, a reporter asked him what he would do regarding the Banks case. And he said: I'll send him back. And so from that point, from middle of November until December 20, we waged a state wide campaign asking Deukmajian to reconsider his decision. And then about the 15th of December — between the 15th and 20th we were notified by some of his legal staff, in the transition team, that the new extradiction request had been received by Duekmajian's office, from governor Janklow, and that he was in fact drafting his answer and was going to send me back on January 2nd. So, hearing all that information, we decided that I would put together a transition team myself and to see what the possibilities were of me leaving California and surfacing in another state. We had to consider a number of questions. One of them, of course, was I wanted to be in a state where there was Native Americans. And, looking back in the past 15 years I've been involved with the A.I.M., perhaps the most solid base of friendship, the kind of environment and the political surroundings and the close connection

and ties to the traditional beliefs found me heading toward Six Nations Territory. So, sometime about the 15th-16th of December I made a decision that it would be Onondaga, and that first we would contact Oren Lyons and then begin to work from there. So I flew my brother out here to New York to make initial contacts and the second part of that decision had to weigh with the political situation in New York. We were sure that wherever I decided to come to that the political party who is in office would be a determining factor in my final decision of where to go. We had a portfolio of all of the governors and we felt that governor Cuomo would, if presented with a full picture of what was happening in South Dakota in 1973 that led to my conviction, and given the full facts about the attorney general and now governor of South Dakota and his death threats against me — that he might follow suit and continue the sanctuary that was given to me in California here in New York. We had to weigh those two factors. And then of course more information was gathered when my brother came out here regarding the political stands that the governor had been making in the past. And so we felt that the situation was right and that we would come to New York. There are other things that we considered, of course, we knew that the FBI and the federal law enforcement officials once they realized where I was at, that they would make every effort to arrest me and ignore any question of jurisdiction with tribes. Making my first decision of going to California I didn't consider the question of jurisdiction because I knew what the political situation in California was.

We did feel that Brown would deny extradition if he was given the full facts, and he did. But there was nothing for us to really fall-back on and to really align ourselves with in terms of going to an Indian reservation or Nation and asking sanctuary from local people there. As it turned out a great number of my friends who I came to meet in the last 8 years, supported our struggle.

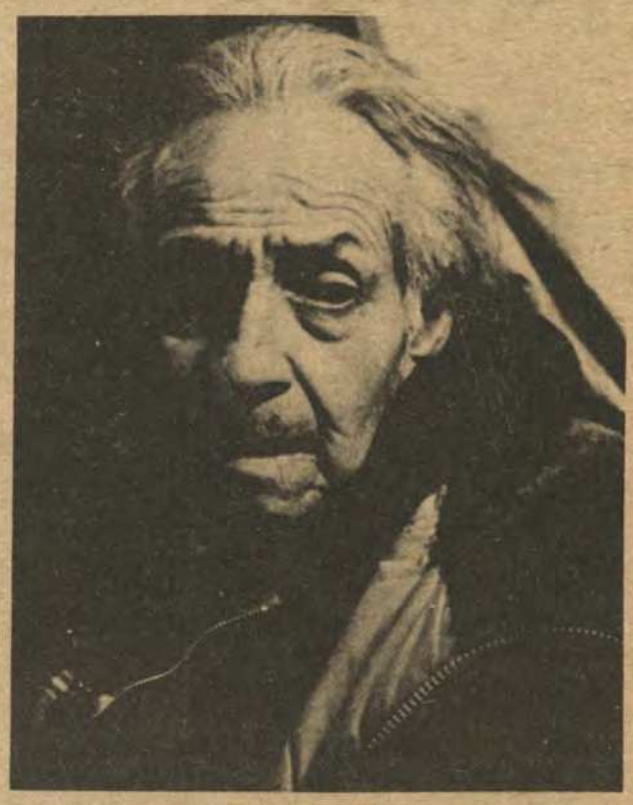
But we had to make sure that those people who we would come to understand the full weight of the government's policies, what they could, and would, will, and might do. Given all those facts, I felt that the strongest place would be the Onondaga Nation.

AN: *We understand that the sanctuary that the Onondagas granted would have to be separate but pararell to sanctuary granted by the state.*

Banks: Well, I am cognisant of the jurisdictions that both parties have. I'm relying heavily on the chiefs and the Longhouse, and so whether Governor Cuomo decides to grant me sanctuary in the state, I would certainly appreciate it and certainly I'm going to need it should I want to travel outside the jurisdiction of the Longhouse — certainly I'll have to appeal to him for sancturary in the state.

AN: *The danger with having sanctuary through Onondaga and perhaps parallel sanctuary through New York State, everytime there's an election you're up against a possible extradiction move. So that seems to be the thing that has to be worked out through the justice system. I would think that it would come from the Justice Department concerning any dealings like that, that happen here. The point is always to go above the state. Traditionally, our dealing is on a federal level, nation to nation, and not with the state.*

Banks: We know that there will be federal involvement in these negotiations. I'm sure that Washington is watching the negotiations. And I'm sure that they'll want to have a final say on, specifically, the federal warrant which is charging me with unlawful flight to avoid imprisonment.



Leon Shenandoab, Atotabo for Six Nations -Haudenosaunee Grand Council: "Banks is a man without a country. He is an educator and an Indian, a man of peace. In our tradition we must shelter him."

AN: *So that is the only federal charge then — unlawful flight. Going back a little bit to the original charges which interrupted your life, out of Custer. I wonder if you would like to describe for us the events of Custer and your participation in those events. More than just the charges - the climate of political violence and fear... in South Dakota in 1972 that lead up to the events at Custer. Certainly the charges relate to those conditions. How has the prosecution and the state acted in relation to those events?*

Banks: I have to remember Custer in 73 as a time when there was a reign of terror that existed in the western part of South Dakota for a number of reasons. The story of how the A.I.M. came to that area goes back to 1972...early '72 when we were contacted. Russell Means was called in Cleveland that a man by the name of Raymond Yellow Thunder had been beaten to death in Gordon, Nebraska.

Apparently, the Yellow Thunders, once they found out that Raymond was beaten to death, and that there were rumors flying around that the Hair brothers, a pair of white hoodlooms, who if fact committed the hideous crime, against him, put out cigarette butts on his body and beat him with a tire iron--they were demanding justice. The offical cause of death which Nebraska signed into the death warrant said he died of exposure. But the stories were too strong.

When we got to Omaha, Russell explained that the parents went to the local police people in Gordon, and there was no response. They then went to the BIA in Pine Ridge, there was no response from them. They even asked for an FBI investigation of the death of their son. These were elderly parents. Raymond was 51 when he was beaten to death. And so at the Omaha conference we decided then that we would go to Gordon, Nebraska. We brought this before the convention in Omaha and there was an immediate outburst of rage from the participants there, condemning the local law enforcement officials for not taking any kind of action, condemning the BIA for turning their back on the Yellow Thunders and condemning the FBI for not investigating further the complaints. It was decided to have a caravan going there to Gordon, Nebraska, and we took a little collection for the conference. And the conference collection raised enough money to in fact charter Greyhound buses. And so we did that, and, over a hundred people then joined with us plus a number of cars.

The plan we had was to go to Pine Ridge first and then from there we would have a rally and get more facts and information from the Yellow Thunder family. We arrived there and there was a tremendous amount of people that welcomed us to Pine Ridge. Perhaps four to five hundred people were waiting for us there. And we had a meeting there that night and we decided that the next day that we would go to Gordon. We went to Gordon and our attorneys were able to secure a court order to exume the body. And we had our pathologist with us who went there. The body was exumed, and Severt Youngbear was there, Ted Means, Russell Means, Crow Dog, myself, and the parents, the mother was there and her sister. When we opened the coffin and we removed just the shirt we found there were cigarette burns on his body. We did an independent autopsy, and found that death was caused by severe blows to the head, his skull was crushed.

There was another ceremony to send Yellow Thunder, Raymond Yellow-Thunder, Indian way, Indian funeral on his journey. At that moment that we were lowering the body back into the grave a young Cheyenne began to sing a song. And he asked if he could be joined by Ted Means and Severt Youngbear, and Severt knew the song and that song became the A.I.M. song. We went back to Gordon where and when we left Pine Ridge to go to Gordon we had the two Greyhound buses, and a ten-mile-long caravan to Gordon. When we got to Gordon there was perhaps 2 thousand Indian people, those who came from Omaha and those who came from Pine Ridge. We took the information back to the people that were waiting for us at Gordon and to the chief of police who was there and to the mayor. We gave the press the information that Raymond Yellow Thunder didn't die from exposure and that in fact he was beaten to death and that cigarette burns were found on his body. A number of young Indian warriors, when we began to tell the story, many of our people were crying and openly weeping in public. We couldn't believe what was happening there and the attempt to cover up his death. Well, a number of warriors then began to demand the physical arrest and the physical presence of the Hair brothers. The Sherriff and the District Attorney there upon hearing our information and hearing the testimony of the pathologist issued a warrant for the Hair brothers.

That was the beginning of our going to western South Dakota. Eventually, the Hair brothers were arrested along with a woman who participated in the murder. They were given 15 years. I guess it was at that point that we began to see a lot of the dual system of justice that exists in South Dakota on those border towns that surround Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, and Yankton. The same border towns on every reservation/nation in this country. We saw it too often, too many times, and we decided that if we were going to make any change, in that kind of dual system of justice, that we would have to do it there.

AN: *Was there any vendetta against you at that time by the FBI or any of the federal constabularies?*

Banks: I think we were moving too swiftly for them to really, to reorganize, but it was there. They were putting together machinery that would eventually cripple us and throw us into the courts and prisons for a long time.

AN: *Let's jump ahead to the Wesley Bad Heart Bull murder. What were the events surrounding his death and the incidents which led up to the confrontation at Custer?*

On the 18th of January I received another call from Ron Petite telling me that a guy by the name of Wesley Bad Heart Bull had been stabbed to death in a bar in Buffalo Gap and that the mother had gone to the Sheriff in Custer County, Ernie Pepin, and to the states attorney, Hobart Gates, asking that they make an arrest, that they would arrest Darryl Schmidt. They said that they would consider arresting him but they thought it was an argument that went astray, it was a fracas, they weren't going to consider it anything like murder or anything like that. She contacted Ron Petite. Ron called me. Russell met me and he got what information he could. There was a lot of rumors going on down in Buffalo Gap and Custer that Darryl Schmidt did in fact kill Wesley Bad Heart Bull. We met with Ramon Robideux. I told Ramon to get something going on this. We met with Sarah Bad Heart Bull and we went down to Custer, her and I and Ron Petite. The county commissioners agreed to have an investigation and that Ramon would conduct the investigation for the county of Custer. Ramon hired a couple of investigators, and went back to Buffalo Gap to piece the whole story together.

The incident began in the early evening. Darryl was not in the bar yet but Wesley was. When Wesley came in, he got a couple of beers and went to a booth. When Darryl came in (Darryl Schmidt) he went to the bar and in a very angry mood, said "I'm going to kill an Indian tonight." Within 15 minutes the fight broke out between Wesley and Darryl; it started in the bar, then went out to the parking lot and when it was over Wesley was dying, he had three stab wounds — one of them had pierced his heart. They called an ambulance, but he was dead before they got him to the hospital. The bartender said, yes, Darryl made that statement, and there was also four other eye witnesses to the murder. We then went back to the county commissioners. Ramon took the information to the commissioner and asked that the charge of manslaughter, (while we were conducting the investigation Darryl had been arrested and been charged with manslaughter,) be raised to murder. And Hobart Gates told Ramon that if he found any information which would suggest premeditation, that he would raise the charge to premeditated murder. He said, "All I know right now is that it was a barroom brawl," and when we presented the information to him, he said, "I won't get a conviction for murder on tl.is one — the best I can do is go for manslaughter one, which was a maximum of fifteen years in prison." We argued with him but it was a fruitless argument... We went back to Rapid City and by then we had called for a Civil Rights hearing regarding our lawsuit which we hadn't filed at that point... but we had gathered enough information to file a suit against the Housing and Urban Development concerning some establishments in Rapid City... and so we called for Civil Rights hearing and civil rights people from Kansas City came up for hearing on Feb. 2, 3rd, 4th and 5th... We then proposed another meeting in Custer. The purpose of the Custer meeting would be to set up a Human Rights Committee in Custer... And we contacted the Clergy, who agreed, to a commission. I personally called Mayor Reese and asked if he would be willing to meet with us on Feb. 6 to set up a Commission for Human Rights; he agreed to do that. I then called Hobart Gates and told him we were coming to town to set up a commission and asked to contact somebody from the judicial community. He contacted Sheriff Ernie Pepin. Ernie Pepin called me back and said alright, and we told him, yes, that is our first concern, but equally, we also want a public announcement from Hobart Gates as to why he will not lift the charge from manslaughter to murder. He said well, I'll tell Hobie and he can make his own statement there. He said alright and then he asked, "where shall we meet?" I said, what's the biggest place you have? He said, well, we have the old courthouse, and I'll talk to the Mayor. He did and came back and said that the Mayor would re-open the old courthouse. "It's all boarded up right now" he said, "but we've closed it down and we've moved into the new courthouse." He said how many people are you expecting — I said maybe a hundred and fifty. He said, the largest room will seat that many. And so it was all set then. Ernie called me back and he said we've set the meeting for nine o'clock in the morning. He said I want you guys to be there on time, I've got other things to do. I said, we'll be there.

On that morning of Feb. 6, it was snowing. That morning we left Rapid City; Crowdog had a ceremony, and by then there were a lot of people from around the country who were with us. We didn't have a hundred and fifty people — maybe eighty came with us. We had a police escort; we had asked for State Highway Patrol assistance.

To get from Custer to Rapid City you have to drive through the hills, you have to get up and come down and it was about a 2 hour and a half drive. We left about 7 o'clock that morning and when we got up in the hills we ran into the snowstorm and it was a blizzard. We were going about two or three miles per hour and finally we stopped, it was getting so bad. The Highway Patrol called for sand and equipment. I told them we had to be there by nine and that maybe they ought to notify the Highway Patrol in Custer and have them contact the Sherriff to tell him that we're running late and we'll get there as soon as we can. Pepin later on acknowledged it, but not right away, that we did call. But when we got there, we finally arrived about eleven o'clock, and we started going to the courthouse, the mayor was there, two clergy were there, Hobart Gates was there, and Ernie Pepin. When we started going to the courthouse there was four highway patrol officers there and Hobart Gates and Pepin came out screaming. "We told you people at nine o'clock and it's eleven o'clock now, you're two hours late, we got other things to do, we can't be waiting around all for you guys..."

They wouldn't agree to a meeting and that's when he said that we should have notified him, and one of the sheriff's deputies said, "Well, Ernie, I did tell you... that the Highway Patrol notified us that they were late." And Ernie said, "Well, alright, but we're only gonna have four people in the meeting — we're not going to have everybody..."

Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Wesley's mother, was not there at that moment when we were all going into the meeting, even though we had requested that she be present. She was going to be one of the four people. It was going to be her, myself, Russell, and Crowdog, that was the four. But she wasn't there, so Dave Hill came in with us. We had been meeting, questioning Hobart Gates as to why he wouldn't lift it to a murder charge.

We had been meeting for about a half hour when we noticed scuffling was going on outside. People were hollering and screaming so Russell went out the door. We were meeting in a small room — it must have been about 10X14, and we were all crammed in there. He came back in and said, "It's Sarah and she wants in on the meeting." So Ernie Pepin and Russell went back out and Russell was saying come on in; Ernie was saying, no, I don't want her in, and there was some pushing and shoving between her and one of the Highway Patrol officers, and the scuffling turned into pulling and shoving and finally one of the Highway Patrol pulled her up and put the nightstick around her and she was choking, he was choking her. And at that mo-

AP photos of S.D. Police manhandling Sarah Bad Heart Bull, precipitating confrontation.

"It was a two-day trial because Janklow refused to show up... The jury of six Indian people found him guilty of rape... Three days later he was elected Attorney General..."

ment the Associated Press photographer snapped the picture. It was that incident that triggered everything else. We were still inside. One of the priests said "well, what about a Human Rights Commission." And we were just getting on that topic. And I said well, we'll leave two or three people here, ...and then all of a sudden there was a big commotion outside, and pretty soon all hell was breaking loose. We tried to get out the door and the door was slammed shut. A tear gas cannister came in the room...and everybody was gagging, but the windows were boarded up and we couldn't get out. By then it was just filled with tear gas and everybody was on the floor. So I took a chair and smashed it through that window, and kept smashing all the glass out. We were all out hanging. Hobart Gates, myself, Crowdog, and finally Crowdog and I jumped out, but it was a full-scale fight by then. ..there was not stopping it then. At that moment when it started, Sheriff Pepin ran back and hollered something downstairs, and out came 20 to 30 helmeted highway patrol officers, and they were in full riot gear. They just came in swinging. Crowdog and I had in the meantime jumped out the window and we were standing there and could see them coming out and they were just clubbing, clubbing, and clubbing. Dave Hill went down, I saw him go down...

I went to grab him and I was pulling him and another guy had him and was pulling him the other way. Suddenly something hit my back and I turned around and the guy was coming again with the club... and I reached up and grabbed it and pulled the club away from him. I had it in my hand and I couldn't get Dave loose... finally more people were coming in and they were getting hit on the head and there was a lot of commotion. Finally I made my way out back down the front steps there... and that little Chamber of Commerce building which was a pretty small structure, it was 16 feet in lenghth by 12 feet by 8 feet... a little log cabin thing... was burning to the ground. When it was all over thirty-two of our people had been arrested--sixteen requiring hospitalization. That's what happened in Custer. Shots were being fired back and forth... they shot several times at us, and it went on for perhaps forty five minutes, the whole fight. Finally the police retreated a few yards and then two blocks back.

So I began directing people to get back in their cars and go on back to Rapid City, and I stayed there for a couple hours after that.

AN: *The events following the Custer confrontation, the rise of the Oglala Civil Rights Organization against the Richard Wilson Regime in Pine Ridge, and which led up to the liberation of Wounded Knee are pretty well known, especially to our readers. We covered it extensively at the time; we've redone it several times in the paper to remind people. Maybe in our next issue we will carry something for the tenth year gathering that will be going on at Pine Ridge about it. We have a specific question, though, about when that charge out of Custer, the Custer happenings, and when the actual charge came on, Dennis?*

Banks: Sometime during those ten days, between the 6th and the 16th, Ramon called me and said that prosecutor Hobart Gates was going to charge me with something out of the Custer incident, and that would I come down and submit to an arrest? And I said, "Yes." I went down there and they charged me with malicious damage to a public building.

AN: *That was for breaking the window?*

Banks: That's right. But they also charged me with arson, and they charged me with burglary, those were the three charges,initially. The bail was $500, and I went down there, they booked me, I was put in jail and I was transferred to Rapid City. I was there for 6 or 7 hours and I was bailed out. That was the initial charges on me. After Wounded Knee, though, other things began to happen. After Wounded Knee, my bail would rise to $125,000.

AN: *$125,000 for the Wounded Knee charges?*

Banks: For the Wounded Knee charges, that's right. All of 1974 from January to October I was on trial, it was a 9 month trial. I was on trial till August, September was the end of the trial. Then there was an incident in September, also in Rosebud. Going back, going way back to '72 we had heard from the tribal chairman of Rosebud, Robert Burnette about a rape incident involving then Deputy Attorney General of South Dakota William Janklow.

The Chief Tribal Judge at Rosebud Reservation was Mario Gonzalez. I talked to him about doing an investigation on it. So we got a clearance from him. It got brought up to the tribal council and they authorized the investigation, to revitalize the investigation. It was never closed. But I'd be brought in to re-initiate it, to piece it together. But then all these other things began to happen and we couldn't get back to it. In September when the Wounded Knee trial ended (which ended in dismissal of all charges and a scathing scolding of the F.B.I. misconduct by a federal judge), I thought maybe I'd better get back on it. So in September I went back to Rosebud and we got more information. We tracked down Jancita Eagle Deer, the rape victim. We went before the tribal Judge and set a date for late October, 1974.

AN: *Was Janklow Governor by this time?*

Banks: No, he was still Deputy Attorney General but he had been assigned by the Attorney General to the Custer cases — so he began prosecuting in Custer County, he was getting some convictions and people, of course, were applauding him. The whites, wherever he went, that was their man. So we finally got some subpoenas out on him, Jancita came back from Des Moines and the thing was going down. Janklow was served with the subpoena and I called in a lawyer from Minneapolis to handle the technical arguments before the courts, Larry Leventhal. I was sworn in as tribal attorney and I became chief prosecutor in the case against Janklow. It was a two-day trial because Janklow refused to show up, then October 31, the jury of six Indian people, 4 men and 2 women found him guilty of rape and all the other things. So three days later he was elected Attorney General. October, November, December, and then in late December some of the Wounded Knee cases were being held in Lincoln, Nebraska. So we went to Lincoln to testify down there. And then January 1, 1975, a confrontation involving the Mennominee Nation broke out in Gresham, Wisconsin so we went up there. That's when Doug Durham (later exposed as a paid F.B.I. operative) was involved in the whole situation. It was in Gresham, Wisconsin in 1975. About the 4th or 5th of January, the assistant states attorney handed me a subpoena to appear before a grand jury in Custer, S.D. And I never showed up. I just absolutely refused to honor this subpoena. The grand jury returned the indictment. They dropped the malicious damage to property, kept the arson, kept the burglary. I was notified about the assault without intent to kill, riot while armed, conspiracy, conspiracy to commit riot, conspiracy to commit arson, conspiracy to commit burglary, conspiracy to commit assault, I was charged with 11 counts in the indictments against me. And so that was in February of 1975, when I was notified of the assault and the riot charges. Two years later.

AN: *At that time the charges grew.?*

Banks: Yes, also at that point, it gave them time to extract from these other trials, information, filed information, and stuff like that. So his main target, then, was going to be Banks, me. And after his conviction of rape, of course, he became a mad man.

AN: *The prosecution of those leadership cases that came up after Wounded Knee and the targeting of half-a-dozen to a dozen maybe, leadership people by the prosecuting arm of the federal government and the state government. That was pretty pro-*

Custer 1973.

"...When I showed up for trial in Custer... in comes Janklow. He says, 'Your Honor, as Attorney General, I am personally taking charge of this case...' "

nounced at the time, that was the strategy of the government at the time to divert the energies of the Movement and the leadership to actual court battles. But the case between yourself and Janklow has the trapping of a personal vendetta. That rape case in which you tried to get him into Indian jurisdiction, and he refused of course being backed up by the federal and state governments in his ability to refuse to go into an Indian jurisdiction. Yet that was, supposedly, the originial idea (agreement) about Indian and state jurisdiction on reservations, for major crimes, white people could be tried in Indian courts and Indians in white courts and so forth, but of course it does not work that way. Ever since that time you have either been a fugitive or an exile from S.D. at any rate. And yet Janklow who is now Governor of the State, is out still pursuing you, trying to bring you into his juridiction. I wonder if we can go back a little bit to just pin it down. When did you first hear about the rape charges against him, and why did you think it was so important to pursue that?

Banks: Well, for two reasons, one of them was the question of a white man committing a crime on a reservation, and then leaving it to escape punishment. The other reason was that he committed a crime which I felt was significant of the white attitudes in South Dakota, ...of raping an Indian woman, and then getting away with it. There have been some stories in which Janklow has said, "why did Bank's wait so long to press charges against me?" Well, he was the one who effectively covered up the crime, because he was the legal service director. He would be the person to whom someone would go to sign a complaint, and so he was in the same position of Richard Wilson at Pine Ridge

AN: *Overseeing his own actions in the first trial, now as Judge Benson has to rule on his earlier ruling in the Peltier trial... You see a whole pattern of people being brought up on their misdoings, and being able to be judges of themselves.*

Banks: The story of the rape was going on in 1970 when I first went to Rosebud. Of course I was the executive officer of the American Indian Movement at that time, and there were efforts to do something about it. It was just that we couldn't get hold of the FBI's file on the case, which they would not release to us. It was the evidence in that file, which I saw as prosecuting attorney, which clearly points out that Janklow in fact committed a rape. There was a coverup there as he was chief legal officer. And he supressed any kind of information. Even after the rape incident happened, Janklow went and locked himself in his office for three days, crying and weeping. And even Pete Pitchlyn, the chief investigator in the original case, said that he tried during those three days to get him out. The other prosecuting attorney at that time, Norman Bear, who now is working as the chief investigator on Rosebud, refused to turn over the file to me physically. He said, "I'll let you read the file Banks, but I can't let you take it out of my possession." ...And I read the whole file, and Janklow was/is guilty.

AN: *What were the circumstances of the actual incident, how old was Jancita?*

Banks: Jancita was fifteen at at the time.

AN: *Was Janklow drinking?*

Banks: He was drinking. He and his wife went to a party. It was very common for him to go to the boarding school and get someone to babysit for him. His wife usually did that, brought the babysitter over, and she usually brought the babysitter back to the dorm. Except on this one particular night -- Janklow, drunk, was taking her back to the dorm. He stopped, pulled off the road and onto another dirt road where he forcibly raped her at gunpoint. Juacita testified as to what happened. He had told her that he would kill her if she told anyone about it, but she was all in hysterics at the time. The matron at the boarding school who later testified in tribal court, said she opened the door and Jancita's blouse was all torn off, there were scratch marks on her and she was screaming. She was saying "William Janklow, William Janklow, William Janklow did this, but he's going to kill me." She (the matron) took her to the hospital and the doctor examined her. She had been raped. There were specimens taken at the time, and that's why Janklow would never submit to a health examination. The doctor charged Janklow at that time He called him and said, "one of the girls is here, we have examined her, she has been raped. Medically, there has been forced entry, blood, and she's saying that you did it, would you come in." That was the point when he went to his office and locked himself in. He had a gun inside, according to Norman Bear, and he wouldn't let anybody in. He stayed in his office for three days. Jancita left the reservation, her mother took her some place. She took her to Omaha and then from Omaha, two years later,she went to Des Moines.

AN: *She was killed sometime later?*

Banks: Yeah. She was killed within ninety days of when she testified, and ironically that was the last thing she said on the stand. I said, "Were there any threats made on you," and she said, "yes, William Janklow told me that if I ever told anybody, he was going to kill me."

AN: *What about California? Is there a big gap between what we were just talking about and California? Or was that about the time you went underground.*

Banks: No, in our press packet there is an affidavit by John Greely, who was at a "coffee" with Janklow when Janklow said, "The only way to deal with the American Indian Movement is to but a bullet in their head. Shoot the leaders, put a bullet in their head and they won't bother you anymore."

When I showed up for trial in Custer, normally, the State's attorney, who is like the County attorney, would handle this case. And the County Attorney would usually have a deputy who will prosecute the case. But when we showed up there, the State's Attorney was there, and another assistant, and then here comes Janklow. He says, "Your honor, as Attorney General of this state, I am personally taking charge of this case, and I will personally handle the prosecution."

After the conviction, the Judge revoked my bail, but we came up with bail that night at eleven o'clock. I was released and was supposed to come back nine days later. I went to Rosebud to the Sundance, and I was to report back on August 9th. On the seventh of August, I heard that the guards had said something about Russell and Banks, and that if Russell comes to jail, he's not going to last more than twenty minutes. So we had this checked out and it was true. The guard did in fact make a statement later on, publicly, that they were talking about Banks and Means and that something would happen to them. Of course Russell was stabbed when he was in prison. So I decided then that I would just leave. I was not going to take that kind of chance. If this was the attitude of the guards, along with the statement by Janklow about putting a bullet in the head of the leadership of A.I.M., then certainly I wasn't going to gamble. And so I left. That was in August of 1975, and I was arrested in El Cerito, California on January 24, 1976.

Much material in the Dennis Banks story still needs to be explored: most prominently, the mysterious death of Jancita Eagle Deer, who, after the terror of the rape and the vindication of the Rosebud Tribal Court decision was found dead on a lonely reservation road four months later-- one more victim of the violence prevalent in South Dakota in the early 1970's.

NICARAGUA:

Deceptions Cloud The Issues

In January of 1982 the Nicaraguan government forcibly relocated 8,500 Miskito Indians from their villages along the Rio Coco. At the time, the Sandinistas claimed that the move was made to "protect" the Indians from armed counterrevolutionary attacks by former National Guardsmen based in Honduras. The forced removals were said to be necessary because of an alleged "CIA-instigated" Red Christmas plot designed to build up a general uprising by the Indians which was to be followed by an invasion by foreign troops to support the secession of Zelaya Province.

The December 24, 1982 issue of the *National Catholic Reporter* carries an article which states the Nicaraguan propaganda justifying the brutal removal of thousands of Miskito and other Indians to "relocation camps" was based on false allegations:

"The Nicaraguan Government's allegation last February of a CIA plan aimed at provoking a secessionist movement among the Miskito Indians was fabricated.

"The Nicaraguan government used the alleged plot, code named 'Operation Red Christmas' to justify the movement of thousands of Miskito Indians from areas along the Atlantic Coast.

"Nearly five months of research into the relationship between the Miskito Indians and the Sandinista government, including visits to Nicaragua and Honduras and interviews with the Miskito Indians, produced no evidence to substantiate the Nicaraguan government's claim of the plot.

"On the other hand, it appears the government used the allegation to justify moving the Indians and to stop a more serious challenge: an indigenous insurrection among the Miskito Indians.

" 'We were responsible for what they call 'Red Christmas,' " said a Miskito commander in Costa Rica, denying that either the CIA or former Somoza National Guardsmen were responsible for the violence. He also denied any secessionist plan was involved. We were angry,' he said." ("Nicaragua's Miskito Move Based on False Allegatons," by J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein, *National Catholic Reporter*, Vol.. 19, No. 10, Dec. 24, 1982, p.1.)

The Miskito Indians of eastern Nicaragua appear to be caught in the unfolding Central American drama of the East—West struggle. The origins of the conflict between these indigenous peoples and the Government of Reconstruction of post-revolutionary Nicaragua began shortly after the fall of the Somoza government in 1979. An Indian movement had been in progress for a number of years. The movement sought to assert Miskito and other Indian nations' rights to land, natural resources, and self-determination. These principles conflicted with the ambitions of the Sandinista government which was seeking to organize for the survival of the Revolution andwhich viewed the traditional lands and natural resources claimed by the Indians as sources of necessary farmland, forest, and mineral wealth needed by a nearly bankrupt Nicaragua struggling under a crushing foreign debt.

Miskito revitalization and political awareness conflicted with Nicaraguan self-interest. When an Indian organization prepared documentation for their rather extensive land claims to areas of the Atlantic Coast (also known as Zelaya Province) the Nicaraguan government responded by arresting most of the Indian leadership and by denouncing Steadman Fagoth, a former Indian leader, as a former Somoza informant. Fagoth and other Indians secured their release from jail and a number fled into exile. Thousands of Indians from the Atlantic Coast crossed the border into Honduras at the same time the U.S. was pointing to the Nicaraguan government as the major exporter of communist revolution in Central America. The Sandinistas began to denounce all of their detractors as counter-revolutionaries and/or persons manipulated by the American CIA.

"The Miskito began to wage a war for national liberation in the Atlantic Coast region. That the Indians were fighting for principles and rights which they perceived to be their own is a fact that has been largely obscured by the propaganda issued by ideologues of the Left and Right, principally from Washington and Managua. A recent article by Mercedes de Uriarte which appeared in the Alicia Patterson Foundation Magazine describes the situation as follows:

The Miskito began to wage a war for national liberation in the Atlantic Coast region. That the Indians were fighting for principles and rights which they perceived to be their own is a fact that has been largely obscured by the propaganda issued by ideologues of the Left and Right. A recent article by Mercedes de Uriarte which appeared in the *Alicia Patterson Foundation Magazine* describes the situation as follows:

"The Miskito Indians were swept into this political drama in 1981 when they were forced to evacuate their riverbank settlements because of border tensions between Nicaragua and Honduras. Until then, the Miskito had retained their political autonomy, even after their lands were absorbed into the fledgling nations of Nicaragua and Honduras in 1860. This original agreement guaranteed their right to a separate culture, exempt from taxation and military service.

The war in Nicaragua is thus a complex affair and is best described as two wars. On the Pacific Coast, the war is between former Somoza National Guard forces who are waging a guerilla campaign. The war on the Atlantic Coast is a war between the Indians, primarily the Miskito people, and the Nicaraguan government. The situation is described in an article which appeared in the December/January issue of *In These Times:*

"Current fighting, despite Nicaraguan claims that it is a unified effort by counterrevolutionaries directed by the C.I.A., is instead more complicated. There are two distinct fronts, roughly translated as the Pacific and Atlantic Zones, that overlap in the middle.

"The Pacific coast mountains are the domain of the Somocista-led troops, estimated at more than 3,000 strong. Of the two fronts, this is the best trained and armed, although for the moment the least threatening to Nicaraguan stability. Despite the many hit-and-run raids and resulting loss of life, the Somacistas actually help consolidate the Sandinistas' power because few people in Central America and almost no one inside Nicaragua would welcome the national guard back into power.

"The strength of the Sandinista volunteer army and militia, the ubiquitous shouted and painted slogans denouncing counterrevolutionary attacks and the consistent warnings from even Nicaraguan opposition parties against armed incursions indicate how little sympathy exists for the Somocistas. Apart from the serious economic damage they cause by destroying bridges and attacking fuel storage facilities, they are not a challenge to the government's authority.

"In the Atlantic zone, comprising 50 percent of the country, the picture is more blurred. Despite indirect funding from the U.S., logistic support from the Honduran military and training by Somocistas, the actual fighting is done by more than 2,000 Miskitos who have operated out of at least 10 camps along the border...

"On a large scale, the Miskito struggle is unquestionably linked to the larger geopolitical designs of the U.S., but on a smaller scale, among the swamps and bush and pine-forested hills of the verdant eastern coastline, the confrontation is defined as a 'war of liberation' by Indians prepared to die for it. For them it is a battle to regain the national homeland, now controlled by an occupying Sandinista army. There are many divergent and conflicting elements at work here, including an almost legendary renegade band called the Astros, or Troops of the Cross, who dislike the Socmocistas, the Sandinistas and the U.S. equally. In general, the Miskito troops know they are being manipulated yet claim they manipulate other groups just as much to finance their war. And they offer a sophsticated argument for that view.

"Sandinista officials are reluctant to concede Miskito insurgency, arguing instead that 'ex-guardia' and 'counter-revolutionaries' are solely responsible. Those who do admit to a Miskito role insist the Indians are 'politically backward' and are simply being deceived ideologically by their own leaders, the Somocistas and the C.I.A. The result is that few people inside Nicaragua understand the extent of the war in the east nor how it differs from that in the west...

"On the Pacific side the Somocistas essentially terrorize people aligned with the revolution, while on the Atlantic side the Miskitos attack Sandinista outposts with the tacit approval of surrounding communities..." ("A Revolution Fighting to Survive," Jack Epstein & J.H. Evans, *IN THESE TIMES*, Vol. 7, No. 6, Dec.22-Jan.11, 1983).

The Nicaraguan government lied when it issued statements to the effect that the removal of the Miskito people was "for their own protection." Most North American progressive newspapers and political organizations accepted the Sandinista version of the purpose of the move without question. It is an issue which has divided some of the American Indian activist groups also. A January 4, 1983 press conference release by Mr. Vernon Bellecourt and Mr. Francis Downwind, representatives of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) condemned the U.S. interference in the region and reflected the Sandinista position:

"U.S. exploitation and manipulation of this situation has caused much suffering for the Miskito people... It has forced the government of Nicaragua to evacuate many other communities to safety to temporary settlements 100 klm. into the interior and away from the fighting on the border...

"We have been assured by leaders within the Government of Nicaragua that when it is safe for the Miskito people to return to their homeland, that they will receive all the material and other assistance needed to do so." Mr. Bellecourt and Mr. Downwind recently visited Nicaragua at the invitation of the Nicaraguan government.

There can be little question that the U.S. is moving forward with plans to destabilize and harrass the Sandinistas. In addition to admitted C.I.A. support of anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Honduras and Nicaragua, the U.S. and Honduras plan to hold military maneuvers in an area near the Nicaraguan border in February. The exercise will involve troop movements by helicopter and by sea. The Pentagon has issued a statement that Nicaragua has been invited to send a military observer in an apparent move to counter Nicaraguan criticism.

Nicaragua has accused the U.S. of supporting a campaign of terrorism. At a meeting of third world ministers in Managua in January, Daniel Orteva Saavedra, head of the Sandinista junta, stated: "There have been more than 500 armed aggressions against Nicaragua. Thousand of former national guardsmen have created terror, assassinating more than 400 Nicaraguans." He further alleged that the U.S. is encouraging Israel to increase its presence in the region and cited visits by Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir to Costa Rica in October and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to Honduras in December.

"An Indian movement had been in progress for a number of years. The movement sought to assert Miskito and other Indian nations' rights to land, natural resources and self-determination. These principles conflicted with the ambitions of the Sandinista government which was seeking to organize for the survival of the revolution and which viewed the traditional lands and natural resources claimed by the Indians as sources of necessary farmland, forest and mineral wealth needed by a nearly bankrupt Nicaragua struggling under a crushing foreign debt."

Enrique Bermudez is a former colonel in the Nicaraguan National Guard who leads 3000 to 6000 former guardsmen in Honduras and Nicaragua. They call themselves the Nicaraguan Democratic Front and are the principal Anti-Sandinista forces receiving U.S. aid in that area. The aid is provided under the biggest and most expensive C.I.A. campaign within the past ten years. The U.S. claims that the C.I.A. activity is intended to block or reduce Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan arms flow to El Salvadorian rebels.

The Nicaraguan Democratic Front admits to using guerrilla tactics in their campaign against the Sandinistas. The strategy of the counter-revolutionary forces is to create leadership for what they hope will be a popular uprising.

Eden Pastora Gomez, another exile leader and a former Sandinista who left Nicaragua last year, has refused to join the NDF because of its identification with the National Guard and the C.I.A.. Pastora, a hero of the Revolution, is now located near San Jose, Costa Rica. Also known as Captain Zero, Pastora has stated that he opposes the pro-Cuban and pro-Moscow course he says has been adopted by the nine-man Sandinista junta and has pledged that he would force the junta members from their "mahsions and Mercedez Benzes" at the point of a gun if necessary. He has stated that he believes that the present junta members have betrayed the principles of the Revolution. Pastora is considered a middle-of-the-road revolutionary and although he despises and is despised by the right-wing NDF, some think he is the leftist who the U.S. would most like to see in power in Nicaragua.

Because of this, he is roundly denounced as a C.I.A. lackey and a traitor by the Sandinistas. He and a key ally, Alfonso Robelo, counter that they have been blocked from access to Honduran bases of operation. Robelo is a former member of the Nicaraguan junta who is also in exile. Thus far Pastora's group has launched no military adventures in Nicaragua although they have carried on discussions with some of the Miskito leadership which is involved in fighting in the Atlantic Coast region. Recently Pastora toured Europe where he is alleged to have made contact with pro-American sources of support.

The Indian war has produced allegations of physical abuse of Miskito prisoners. Americas Watch, a human rights organization based in New York City, issued a report on human rights in Nicaragua in November. While generally commending Nicaragua on its human rights record, the report also contains the following:

"During the course of our visit, we heard first-hand testimony from several dozen Miskito prisoners who had been arrested during the summer and held in Puerto Cabezas detention centers until being sent to the Zona Franca prison near Managua. They told us they had all received periodic beatings and threats while in Puerto Cabezas and that some had been forced to sign confessions at gun-point. Some showed us marks they said reflected this mistreatment. Based on these statements (and similar reports from other sources) we are persuaded that some physical abuse of Miskito prisoners is occurring..."(*"Human Rights in Nicaragua, November 1982 Update," Americas Watch Report*, Stephen L. Kass and Juan E. Mendez, 36 West 4th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10036, p.9).

The report goes on to state:

"But the government has not merely failed to remedy past abuses. Since May, 1982 it has compounded those abuses. Chief among these new actions are widespread arrests of Miskito villagers OUTSIDE the Rio Coco border area, increasingly harsh detention of such persons by security forces in Zelaya Province, and restrictions on normal farming and harvesting in many Miskito villages that have created real hardships for villagers.

"One cause for the increasing tension between the Government and Miskito villagers outside the Rio Coco border area is a real, and apparently growing, guerrilla movement against Government forces in Zelaya Province. The Government has reported some 500-600 deaths in such encounters and claims that the attacking bands (said to include several thousand guerillas) are trained and equipped with United States help in Honduras. More directly relevant for our purposes, the Government also claims that the guerrillas are sustained with food and with intelligence about government troop movements by Miskito villagers. In an effort to deny the guerrillas any safe haven within Zelaya Province, the Government has begun to act directly against suspect villagers and to restrict (or, in some cases, prohibit) the rights of Miskito farmers to harvest their crops, hunt or fish without Government permission." (Ibid., p.33-4)

Amnesty International, the prestigious London-based human rights organization, has been monitoring human rights cases in Nicaragua. AI has been especially concerned with Nicaragua's use of a Public Order law which has been used to detain persons suspected of conduct which the government considers dangerous to Nicaragua's national security. Their Dec. 30, 1982 report contained the following statements concerning the effects of Nicaragua's policy on the Indians of the Atlantic Coast:

"The majority of the at least 200 prisoners convicted of crimes under the Public Order Law in the course of 1982 are believed to have been detained in Nicaragua's Zelaya department, known as the Atlantic Coast region. Most of these prisoners are from the northern part of the department from communities near the Honduran border, and are members of the Miskito and Sumo Indian groups. Charges in all of these cases involve alleged involvement in violent actions carried out in the region by armed opposition groups.

"In its cable to the Nicaraguan government on 19 March 1982, following the declaration of a State of Emergency, Amnesty International expressed its concerns regarding the arrest and trial of 160 Miskito Indians detained in the border area following a series of cross-border incursions in December 1981. Amnesty International asked for clarification of the legal status of the 160 Miskitos then held at Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic Coast. Amnesty International had at that time received reports that 71 Miskitos were, after summary trials by a Puerto Cabezas criminal court, sentenced on 16 February 1982 to from three to 29 years' imprisonment for offences under the Public Order Law related to violent actions by opposition groups in the previous months. Amnesty International expressed concern that most of the prisoners had been detained incommunicado for 27 days before the trials began, in the custody of the security police (*Direccion General de Seguridad del Estado, DGSE*) in Puereto Cabezas, and that trial proceedings had been summary with limited right to defence. AI urged that provisions be made for the full right of defence to be exercised.

"Although the government of Nicaragua acknowledge receipt of the 19 March cable, AI received no response to the request for information concerning the prisoners tried in Puerto Cabezas under the Public Order Law in February 1982. AI subsequently learned that of the 160 originally held jfor trial in Puerto Cabezas, 135 prisoners from northern Zelaya, largely Miskito Indians, with several members of the small Sumo Indian community, were sentenced in February 1982 to imprisonment, accused of involvement in the armed clashes that occurred from October to December 1981, convicted of crimes of varying gravity under the Public Order Law; five of these were given suspended sentences and released.

"The 135 prisoners convicted at Puerto Cabezas were tried in groups based on their place of origin or detention, with charges related to violent actions by armed opposition groups in these localities. Eight Miskito Indians from the Bilwaskarma area, on the Rio Coco — which divides Honduras from Nicaragua — were charged with responsibility in the 28 December 1981 assault on the hospital then maintained there by the Moravian church, with the kidnapping of two doctors and two nurses in the wake of the assault; and with the rape of a doctor and a nurse who were reportedly forcibly taken across the river to Honduras. Thirty-nine prisoners were convicted of responsibility for the two-day occupation (20-21 December 1981) of the river-side town of San Carlos and some specifically with the killing by torture and mutilation of seven members of a Nicaraguan army patrol captured in the town during the occupation; with the destruction of an army helicopter; and with the 14 December abduction and murder of twelve San Carlo militia members, reportedly abducted from San Carlos and later found dead in Honduras. Other groups included 21 prisoners from the Waspan area, also on the Rio Coco, and 38 from the area known as Las Minas.

"Of particular concern to AI in the Puerto Cabezas cases was the treatment accorded prisoners after their transfer in January 1982 to *Seguridad del Estado* detention facilities at Puerto Cabezas. As has been noted, prisoners were held by security police for extensive periods in total incommunication. Some sources have furthermore alleged that beatings and other ill-treatment of these prisoners were certain elements of the proceedings in their trials at Puerto Cabezas. The evidence of the prosecution in the joint trials was limited almost entirely to statements allegedly made by prisoners to state security investigators while in incommunicado detention. Some of these were recorded by state security on video tape while prisoners remained incommunicado. Individual defendants, furthermore, were in most cases not requested to personally ratify their alleged pre-trial statements before the court, and court appointed defence counsel did not, to the the knowledge of AI, challenge the authenticity of statements or alleged "confessions". The possibility that some statements had been prepared beforehand by state security, and were ratified by a fingerprint or signature by prisoners only as a result of threats or otherwise under duress, as reportedly maintained by some prisoners, was not examined by the court..."

"While there would appear to be little question that some of the 135 prisoners had been involved in the violent acts of late 1981 in northern Zelaya, AI believes that some of those prosecuted at Puerto Cabezas were detained virtually at random after government forces regained control of the settlements in which violent incidents took place. Miskito Indian and church sources have maintained that many of those detained in the aftermath of the December 1981 incidents had had no personal involvement in them and that detentions were made because authorities held Miskito residents to be jointly responsible for the actions that occurred in or near their small communities. Some were reportedly accused of complicity in the incidents for allegedly having given food to oppositionists."

"The Bluefields appeals court reduced or reversed almost all of the sentences passed by the Puerto Cabezas lower, or first instance court. The court ordered the release of 25 appelants; three others ere released with a definitive staying of proceedings; and 46 received sentences of three or less years and so became eligible for immediate release through a form of parole. Sixty-one prisoners with sentences over three years from the appeals court are presently awaiting consideration of their final appeal before the Supreme Court."

"A second major displacement of the rural population along the Honduran border took place in late November and December 1982 in the department of Jinotega, to the west of the zone previously evacuated, following major military clashes in the area between Honduran-based opposition forces and the Nicaraguan army. An estimated 2,000 non-Indian farmers, and 4,800 Miskito Indians from upper Rio Coco communities between Yacalpanani and San Andres de Bocay were taken further into the interior of Jinotega in the operation.

"An estimated 60 Miskito and Sumo Indians detained since January 1982 re reportedly now facing trial on Public Order Law charges for alleged involvement in armed opposition activities. Most of them, including 18 Sumo Indians primarily from the northern Zelaya community of Musawas, are now held in pre-trial detention in Managua. They face trial before a Managua criminal court."

("Nicaragua Background Briefing: Persistence of Public Order Law Detention and Trials," Amnesty International, London, England, Dec. 30, 1982, p. 5-9.)

In its editorial of December 24, 1982, the *NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER* stated, "...the Nicaraguan government serves no one, least of all itself, in perpetrating lies to justify the harsh manner with which it has treated the Miskito Indians." The reporters who wrote the articles which appeared in *IN THESE TIMES and NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER* also write for Pacific News Service (PNS), an organization which is widely respected for its responsible and progressive handling of news stories. Americas Watch has a similar reputation for responsible reporting in the human rights field.

-John Mohawk

(Some of the information in this article was gleaned from the pages of the *NEW YORK TIMES* and the *WASHINGTON POST* — Ed.)

The International System:

Human Rights and Beyond

Resource extraction and transnational development strategies pose a complex threat to the survival of indigenous peoples. For centuries, native peoples have been compelled to contribute land, resources, and labor for the benefit of alien dominant societies. In many areas of the world, waves of exploitation have resulted in the tragic destruction and marginalization of entire peoples.

The expansion of the global economy and the rapid pace of technological innovation have virtually abolished any hope of indigenous peoples' survival through isolation. The most remote tropical or polar environments formerly on the frontiers of development can now be transformed into resource colonies by transnational corporations. Indigenous peoples have found little protection against this phenomenon in the legal systems of the countries that surround them. On the contrary, these legal and political systems are structured to facilitate the economic expansion of the dominant societies.

With increasing frequency, therefore, indigenous peoples have begun to look to the international community for affirmation and effective protection of their rights to land and resources. Yet the international system has only begun to respond to this recent movement. While indigenous peoples must strive to open the system further, their present strategies must take into account its existing limitations.

Current Remedies: The Importance of Human Rights

The problem of resource exploitation is one of unquestionable international concern. Indigenous peoples have brought it to world attention for the following reasons:

—the problem is widespread and transcends national boundaries. It is found wherever indigenous peoples possess territories that contain coveted resources;

—even within a single nation-state, powerful transnational economic interests are usually involved in the financing and implementation of any particular development project;

—denial of the rights of indigenous peoples to lands and resources is institutionalized in domestic legal systems, leaving no reasonable recourse under national law;

—the issues involve fundamental rights that can be effectively addressed only at the international level; and

—the United Nations is concerned with the practices of transnational corporations.

To say that the problem is an international one, however, is not to say that its solution can be reached through existing institutions. Unfortunately, it cannot. Indigenous peoples are entering an international system that is largely ignorant of, if not indifferent to, their plight. Moreover, some of the more important institutions within the United Nations are currently closed to indigenous peoples.

Yet the situation is open to change. A brief survey of existing remedies sheds light on some of the problems and possibilities. Particularly in the area of human rights recent developments offer hope for the future.

Decolonization. Many of the world's peoples who have been victimized by colonialism have been offered independent statehood or other self-determined political arrangements implemented under UN supervision. The United Nations limits the right of decolonization, however, to territories that are geographically separate from the colonizing state—thereby excluding many indigenous peoples. Unless UN members states modify this definition, indigenous peoples will not be eligible for international trusteeship or any other decolonized status under the supervision of the United Nations.

International Court of Justice (World Court). With rare exceptions that do not apply to indigenous peoples, cases may be brought to the World Court only by member states of the United Nations. Even where states are involved, the Court cannot acquire jurisdiction unless all parties consent. Operating under these restrictions, however, the Court may occasionally consider a question of doctrine that conerns the status of indigenous peoples. In one African case, for example, the Court ruled that under international law no inhabited territory can be considered legally vacant, regardless of the inhabitiants' social organization.

Human Rights. One of the most significant achievements of the United Nations has been the elaboration of "universal" standards for the protection of human rights. In particular, the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights together establish what is viewed as an "International Bill of Human Rights."

Unfortunately, the rights defined in the covenants do not adequately address the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples, especially in the area of land rights and resource protection. The treaties were drafted to guarantee to individuals their equal protection under national law. Yet the needs of indigenous peoples can only be expressed in terms of group or national rights.

One important provision of both convenants does embody this foundation of indgigenous rights. In each document, the first article guarantees the right of *peoples* to self-determination—a human right widely regarded as necessary for the enjoyment of other human rights and fundamental freedoms. The two convenants define self-determination as an economic as well as a political right, and prohibit states from denying a people "its own means of subsistence." Human rights concepts, therefore, do offer indigenous peoples an opportunity to gain recognition of their right of self-determination as distinct peoples—a recognition that the historical process of decolonization had previously ruled out.

The Growing Recognition of Indigenous Peoples

Many of the institutions concerned with the promotion and protections of human rights have recently addressed the inadequacy of existing means to protect indigenous rights. In 1971, under the auspices of the UN Human Rights Commission, the Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discimination and Protection of Minorities initiated a "Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations." In 1982, the Sub-Commission established a permanent "Working Group on Indigenous Populations" to review the situation of indigenous peoples and to evolve new standards for the protection of indigenous rights.

The Working Group is the first structure within the United Nations that focuses specifically on the

situation of native peoples. Its existence will assure that indigenous rights will be regularly addressed by the Human Rights Commission. Yet it remains for indigenous peoples to guide the efforts of the Working Group in a positive direction.

In 1981, a UNESCO-sponsored conference on "Ethnocide and Ethnodevelopment in Latin America" issued the "San Jose Declaration," which supported ethnodevelopment as the right of indigenous peoples to develop as they choose within their own cultures and traditions. The participants also stated that ethnocide, or cultural genocide, is a crime against international law.

In 1983, the Human Rights Commission will hold a world conference on the subject of racism and racial discrimination. The situation of indigenous peoples will undoubtedly be an important area of discussion.

Other opportunities to promote the human rights of indigenous peoples may be found both inside and outside the United Nations. Regional forums such as the Inter-American, European and African Commissions on Human Rights have been and can be utilized by indigenous peoples. Depending of their political orientation, these regional forums may be more or less responsive to indigenous problems.

Beyond Human Rights

Most of the recent progress in the area of indigenous rights has come in direct response to the international indigenous movement. Meetings of native peoples have inspired an informed, sympathetic reaction within international institutions. The creation of the Working Group represents a consolidation of many of these past efforts, and an invitation to indigenous peoples to continue to expand their presence.

Future activities should not, however, focus only on human rights. Numerous other areas of international concern—the environment, peace, the "Law of the Sea," and the role of transnational corporations, for example—touch the lives of indigenous peoples. Through full participation in international forums, indigenous peoples will establish the political presence they need to reform international institutions.

- Howard Berman

PETERSON ZAH

An Interview with the new Navajo Tribal Chairman

Peter MacDonald reigned for 12 years over the energy-rich Navajo Nation, and became known as the most powerful Indian in America. His reign has been controversial as he became increasingly powerful, wealthy and, some say, dictatorial, in his control over the 25,000 square miles of Navajo land which sprawls over parts of Arizona, Utah and New Mexico with its population of 150,000 Navajos. The unemployment rate has soared towards 80 percent while MacDonald oversees the vast mineral resources.

MacDonald went on to become the best-known Indian in America -- consistently grabbing the headlines -- and prompting the progressive MOTHER JONES magazine to run a cover story on his administration.

The comprehensive article on MacDonald by Jeff Gillenkirk and Mark Dowie was entitled, "The GREAT INDIAN POWER GRAB - Is Peter MacDonald the Moses of the Navajo Nation, or is he an Energy Baron out for himself and a few loyal cronies?" The article covers historical data, as well as, MacDonalds involvement in CERT and his iron-fisted rule of the Navajo Nation in his rise to power. "As co-founder and chairman of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), a 26-member consortium of mineral-rich Indian nations (often called the Indians' OPEC), he has taken on the self-appointed responsibility for lifting all American Indians from the stasis of their traditional lifestyle into the cyclotron of the 20th century. His critics, fearful of his industrialized vision of Indian future and resentful MacDonald may soon become one of the first Indian millionaires, scorn him as "Shah of the Navajo," "the Navajo Nixon" or "Peter MacDollars." His friends, out of respect and admiration for these same qualities simply call him "The Chairman."

While MacDonald was building his empire the Navajo people have been, and continued to be, faced with the stock reduction programs that will end their self-sufficient lifestyle, and the relocation program which forces many Navajos from the land forever.

Peabody Coal, United Nuclear and Kerr McGee have uranium mining leases on Navajo land and many Navajos worked in these poor ventilated mining companies. Today, many of these miners are dying from cancers related to uranium mining.

MacDonald was indeed a controversial man in Navajo country. The eyes of many people are on the new chairman Peterson Zah as he begins as chairman of the Navajo Nation. Our thanks to Tom Barry for this timely interview.

Photo Credit: T. Barry

Peterson Zah greeting elder at sawmill June 1982.

If you have faith in people, in your own people, if you know that they will handle their own problems, all you have to do is give them some authority, some funds that go with that authority, and let them make their own decisions and run their own affairs. The basic difference between me and MacDonald is that I like to work with more people in the decision-making process.

Tom Barry, a former reporter for the Navajo Times, was a founder of New Mexico People and Energy and a current staff member of The Resource Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico.)

TB-The editor of Akwesasne Notes asked me if I thought that Peterson Zah was really a progressive leader who would make a difference to the Navajo Nation. I said that you were, and that I would be happy to interview you. Tell me what you think are the differences between you and Chairman Peter MacDonald?

Zah-I think there are indeed big differences between me and Peter MacDonald, and that's why people voted for me. In many ways, I am more geared to people and people-oriented as opposed to MacDonald's orientation of being something like a corporate executive with big money and nice things. With me it doesn't make any difference whether somebody dresses real nice or drives nice cars, or whether he considers himself a boss and tries to make everybody believe he is the boss. To me, those things don't even matter. A leader becomes a leader because he exhibits those qualities that makes him a leader which go beyond clothes and cars. The other difference is that MacDonald is geared to more corporate things. He is an engineer by trade, while I'm an educator and more oriented to people. I am also a journeyman carpenter by trade so I have a sense of what building means and what it takes and what it means to be a laborer, to be working out in the cold with a shovel in your hand.

I was born right in the center of the reservation, a place called Low Mountain. My family was a traditional Navajo family, and because of that I have retained some of those traditional values that are so important to the Navajo Nation.

TB-Chairman MacDonald said he could deal better with the modern world because he is not so traditional and therefore can negotiate better with the members of the corporate world that want to invest on the reservation Do you think you have the ability and the background to deal with that powerful outside world?

Zah-I don't think it takes what he says it takes to deal with them. I have dealt with the same kinds of people at DNA (Navajo Legal Services) where I was supervising 32 lawyers that were litigating cases against many of those corporations. When the corporate lawyers came to DNA, I was always honest with them about how I thought and how I felt. The most important thing, as leader of the largest Indian tribe in the United States, is to be honest with the Navajo people themselves and just be who you are. You don't have to pretend that you are somebody else. And that is certainly how I will continue to operate. People sometimes laugh when I'm out driving my 1967 International truck, even after the election. But that is part of me, and some people may not like the clothes I wear. They don't think that it is keeping with the image of the chairman. But that is me. They have to accept Peter Zah. Chairman MacDonald has gotten people to think that to be chairman you have to wear a three-piece suit and drive a Continental car.

We ran on the theory that those things aren't so important. We dealt with issues like unemployment, the Navajo-Hopi land dispute, protecting our land and water rights, and making sure that our children have good education. Those were the issues that people were worried about. We are committed to those issues, things that have nothing to do with being a corporate person.

TB-Chairman MacDonald was not only the leader of the Navajo people, but also came to be a spokesperson for Indian people in general. Do you see yourself fitting into that national leadership role?

Zah-The Indian people do need an advocate, somebody they can rally around. The blacks have Jesse Jackson and before that they had Rev. Martin Luther Kind. Those people have been the identities of the black people and who you have to listen to in order to know how the blacks feel. The Indian people need the same kind of people to advocate for them.

But it will be very hard because we belong to different tribes and have different languages. We have our own reservations, our own tribal governments, and there are big differences when it comes to tribal cultures. So therefore you don't have the same kind of personalities that come from the Indian people like from the black people.

TB-Some people say that the Indian reservations are very similar to underdeveloped nations. Do you see this as something that Indian people have in common?

Zah-There are similarities, but what I was saying was that languages and customs are different among Indian people. But we do have a lot in common. The Navajo Nation is like an underdeveloped nation anywhere. We need some of the basic things here that underdeveloped nations need.

have expressed concern about you being man of the Navajo Nation. Why are they so worried?

Zah-I think that the statements of concern are very interesting. When MacDonald was elected for the third term, they didn't express any concern. So the feeling I had was that they like him and wanted him to continue being chairman. I raise the question then whether we Navajos have been adequately represented by the tribal administration in the tribe's dealings with the energy companies. During the campaign I had nothing to do with those energy companies and refused to accept any huge money from non-Indians. I certainly didn't want to accept those kinds of funds from the energy companies because then I wouldn't be truthfully representing the Navajo people. The are literally buying you. I wanted to be in the position that everybody would be evaluated on their merits when I get in office. The companies that have contracts for coal, uranium, and oil will be evaluated and the amount of the royalties will be also evaluated very carefully. If the companies are apprehensive, that doesn't bother me because that only says that I am not in bed with them. And I intend to continue operating that way.

TB-In negotiating with the energy companies, is it just a matter of improved royalties or are there other concerns too?

ZAH-Well, there are other things. You can't just look at the dollars. The companies have the dollars to throw around so you just can't be satisfied with upping the royalties. We are concerned about our ability to tax the companies, and we are going to demand at a certain point that they submit to the jurisdiction of the tribal courts. The land has to be put back into order once they mine the earth. We have to see that people are not relocated, or at least keep the families that have to move at a minimal level.

I think that if you have young Navajo lawyers making decisions for the Navajo Nation, they know they and their children will have to live with the results of their decisions. The legal decisions they make will affect their grandmothers and it will affect their water and their land. I will know that when they make a decision they will have thought about all of these things, which is different from a white lawyer from off the reservation making decisions about the Navajo Nation. They don't live here, they are not Navajos.

Photo Credit: T. Barry

Peterson Zah
Navajo Tribal Chairman

TB-Let's talk about the traditional view of development. Many Indian people say that any mining is a violation of the sacredness of the earth. What do you think?

ZAH-In a tribal approach to development and mining, the tribal administration has an obligation to discuss the proposals with the local people. What we have said during the campaigns is that we will leave the question of development up to the local people of the areas that will be affected. We are trying to build up the justice department of the tribe so that we can have some people who can advise the people about how much uranium they are sitting on and what are some of the market values of the minerals. These are important questions that Navajos have to answer before they can decide if they want their land mined. So we are not going to say what the Navajo Tribe is doing to develop the energy on the whole reservation. We can't say that as a government without taking into consideration what the local people may want.

TB-What the local people want sometimes is a difficult thing to decide, for example in the Joint Use Area where Navajos and Hopis seem to what different things. What will be your approach to solving this difficult issue?

ZAH-One has to look at the Navajo-Hopi land issue as something that wasn't created by either the Hopis or the Navajos. It was something created by the federal government when one president put one tribe on top of another tribe. It was an executively-created problem. At one point the problem was given to the judical branch to solve but they even made the Navajo-Hopi land dispute worse. About 12 years ago, the whole issue went to all three branches of government, none of which was able to resolve it. As I come to office people expect me to solve it overnight when it has taken the federal government so many years in dealing with it.

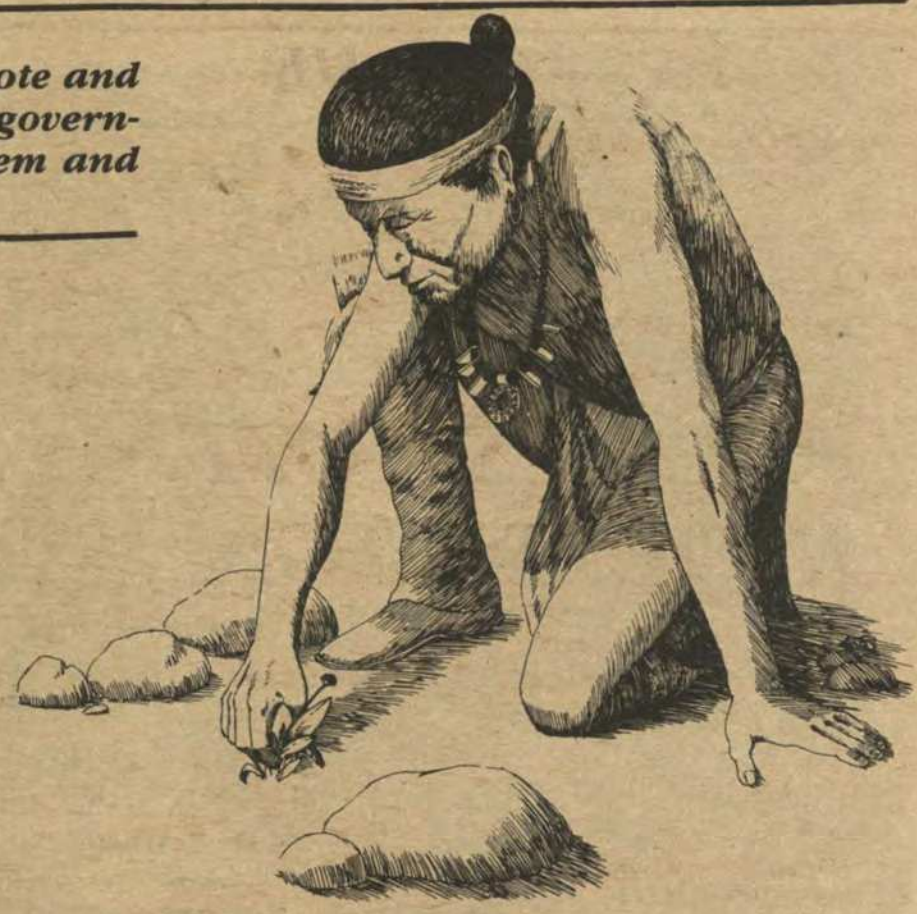
But one should not give up. I know the Hopi chairman very well. His family and my family are friends and I went to school with him. During the campaign I was severely criticized for my friendship with him. Ivan Sidney was also severely criticized by his people for being friends with me. But we had decided long ago that we were friends and will continue to be. People feel very uncomfortable that we are so casual with one another. The leaders of both tribes in the past never really got together. They never spoke, they never sat down at one table. Instead when there was a meeting, they invited the news media and permitted all the lawyers from both sides to do all the talking while the two leaders sat and stared at one another. To me, the fact that we are friends is a positive thing. We are both committed to the idea that while the two tribes are fighting, there are other people and other forces outside the Navajo and Hopi that are really interested in what we have. We decided that for the Peabody Coal lease, which is on the Joint Use Area, we will set up a joint committee to negotiate the lease instead of the Navajo and Hopis fighting each other about the terms.

The Hopi chairman and I will go to the schools and talk to the children about the importance of our being Indian people who are the native Americans in this country. We are a minority to begin with and as a minority we have to quit fighting one another and instead we are human beings who should cooperate. We have to undo all of the hatred that the past leaders have created between the two tribes.

TB-One of the organizations that deals with Indian people acting together is CERT (Council of Energy Resources Tribes). What is your role and the role of the Navajo people in CERT, which has had Chairman MacDonald as its director?

ZAH-During the campaign, what I said about CERT was this: The Navajo Tribe may not be a legitimate member of CERT because the concept of CERT was never discussed with the tribal council or any of the committees. It was certainly not discussed with the Navajo people. But you have our chairman serving as the chairman of CERT without permission of the Navajo people. The only thing I was saying is

"I think it is wrong when 70 percent of the people vote and say they want to participate in running the tribal government and then all the power's taken away from them and goes to one person."



that the Navajo people deserve to hear from CERT to see what they have to offer, and that the tribal council should be fully informed about what CERT stands for. Only then, after gathering this information, will the Navajo tribal council as the representatives of the Navajo people decide whether we should become members of CERT. We are going to evaluate very carefully what CERT can offer the Navajo people and how will they help all the Navajo allottees who are sitting atop so much uranium.

TB-What about the tribe's relationship with the federal government.

ZAH-Definitely, if you look at and evaluate Indian treaties, by law the federal government has a trust responsibility for Indian people and for our land and resources. The Navajo people have the treaty of 1868 which clearly outlines the trust responsibility of the federal government. At the present time with the Reagan administration is saying that the Indian people should decide for themselves what they want and should run all of their programs. We are just afraid that the federal government doesn't want to pay the bills. They want to give us the programs, knowing that once we take it they will cut off the funds. And once they start doing it, they are violating their trust responsibility. Indian tribes have to be very careful that the concept of self-determination is not used against them. When we signed the treaties with the federal government, they specifically told us that they would educate our children and take care of our health, and that they would use funds to help us. They are committed to do those things and we should make sure that they live up to the treaties.

TB-For so long the tribal council has been an almost exclusively a male institution and women have not had a place in the tribal administration. What can you do to change this situation.

ZAH-Looking at all the women on our campaign staff, you will see that we have already started to change that discrimination. Our major campaigner out with the chapters was a woman and my campaign director was a woman. When we start coming out with our appointments, I think we are going to raise a lot of eyebrows because there will be so many women in those key positions. Not that I like to see women in there just because they are women but because of the brains they have and because they are capable. We are appointing women because we like to see things get done. Of MacDonald's top aids and division directors, there isn't one woman.

TB-What are your plans to integrate young people into the running of the tribe and to ease their alienation.

ZAH-The tribal government now has a youth program that is headed by an elderly man, but I am going to appoint a young person to head this program because I have confidence in young people. We want young people to take a meaningful, major role in the tribal government. I think that many of our young people are really just waiting for opportunities and someone to give them a chance so that they can prove themselves. We have so many young people with so many talents just waiting for someone to nourish them and to cultivate their skills. As it is right now, we are always calling on outside people. To give you one good example: lawyers. Three years ago, a Navajo law firm wanted the contract to act as the general counsel of the tribe. To me they were able and capable of doing that, but the tribal government denied them saying they were inexperienced. How else will they get the experience if they don't get the contract? They were Navajo people and the tribe hired an all-white law firm from outside the reservation. We can't continue to live that way. If we want our people to get experience, if the Navajos want to be self-determined, Navajos are to have the final say so as to what goes on on this reservation, then those young Navajos should be employed as the tribe's lawyers. I think that if you have young Navajo lawyers making decisions for the Navajo Nation, they know they and their children will have to live with the results of their decisions. The legal decisions they make will affect their grandmothers and it will affect their water and their land. I will know that when they make a decision they will have thought about all of these things, which is different from a white lawyer from off the reservation making decisions about the Navajo Nation. They don't live here, they are not Navajos.

TB-Observing the Navajo Nation, I have seen a tremendous capability for democracy at the chapter or local level, but at the tribal government level it is just a dictatorship. How is it possible to bring the democracy at the chapter level to the center of tribal government?

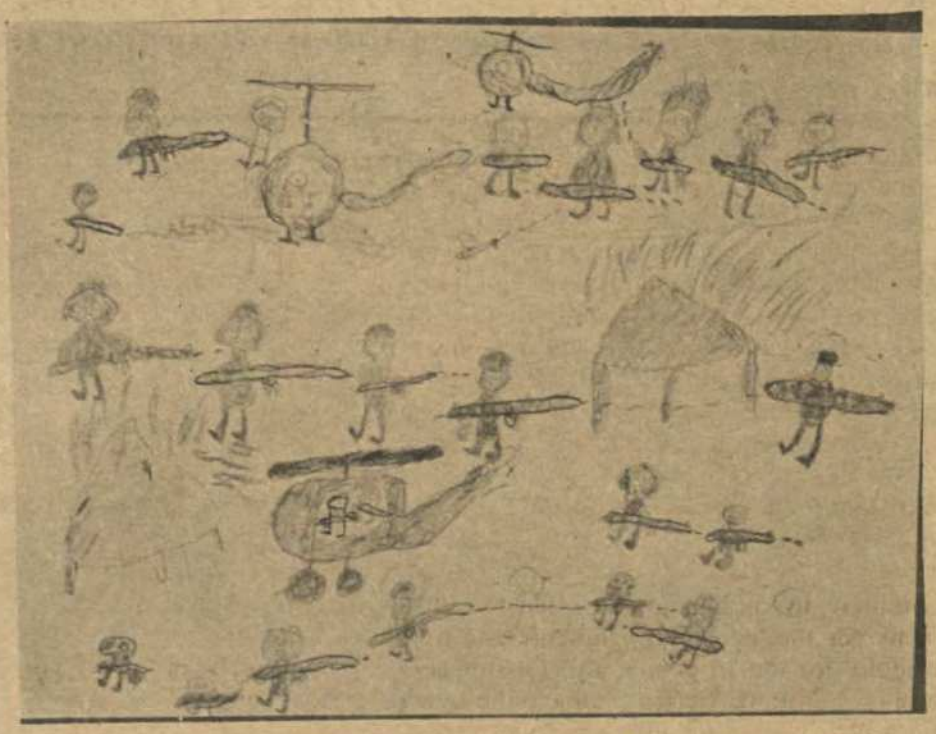
ZAH-What we are going to do is that we will change the highly centralized nature of the tribal government. Almost every bit of the power of the tribe is centralized in Window Rock, the tribal capital. That's what people don't like. They don't like only a very few people making decisions. We told the people that when we get in there, we will distribute the power, we will give this centralized power back first to the local agency. Let's give some of the power back to Shiprock Agency, for example. Give them some money, and let the people of Shiprock handle their own problems right there in Shiprock. It is a waste of time and money for them to come to Window Rock for every problem they encounter. If you have faith in people, in your own people, if you know that they will handle their own problems, all you have to do is give them some authority, some funds that go with that authority, and let them make their own decisions and run their own affairs. The basic difference between me and MacDonald is that I like to work with more people in the decision-making process.

The Navajos really turn out for the tribal elections. Over 70 percent voted in the last elections. So the Navajos are there waiting for something to be given to them so they can participate more in tribal government like the way they vote. I think it is wrong when 70 percent of the people vote and say they want to participate in the running of the tribal government and then all the power is taken away from them and goes to one person. I think what MacDonald did was that rather than build a tribal government where a lot of people have a role in the tribal government and rather than distributing responsibilities and power, he took all of that within him and the advisory committee. That was his corporate way of doing things unlike the way of doing things with people and having faith in people.

MAYA — QUICHE COUNTRY:

THE PROTESTANT INQUISITION

— Second Forced Conversion of Guatemala



Several Mayan children at a Mexican refugee camp were asked to draw "what you remember of your country." This is one of their pictures.

This report on Guatemala comes to us through Plenty International.

Friday, December 17, San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico

The action in San Cristobal is reminiscent of the kind of overheated atmosphere prevailing in Shanghai, Hong Kong and other ports in Asia just previous to World War II. Every person you saw could be a government agent, of what government you knew not. Tourists from Europe, tourists from America walking through, apparently oblivious to what's going on in the camps.

It seems that everyone in Chiapas knows something about the refugee business, either from the viewpoint of helping out the poor starving people, or feeling wary of them. "Be careful on the road," some warned. "You may find bandidos, Guatemalatecos, pobrecitos que son desperados," so-pitifully poor-they-become-desperate, enough to stop a rich tourist and take him for what he has.

During the afternoon we drove to Comitan to make an appointment for a flight the next day. In the small, not-very-many-horse airport, there are six airplanes visible, three of them with propellers, three of them without---actually eight airplanes including the two without wings. All the pilots are familiar with the refugees and have seen the camps from the air. Forty tons of food is waiting to be flown in by small airplane loads, with alternate flights bringing out coffee from plantations far back in the mountains.

Saturday, December 18: Today Captain Tovar observed Guatemalan troops in a refugee camp on the Mexican side of the border, interrogating. He was afraid to land on the strip in the village while the soldiers were there.

On the street we meet a young man from California, down here to put his boat in the water and do a little fishing and boating. He was shocked so profoundly by his first encounter with the reality of repression that he hadn't slept all night.

"You should come and see this exhibit," he tells us.

He steers us to La Galeria Coffee House, which turned out to be the place where workers in the refugee camps meet in San Cristobal to relax, listen to music, and be together. It is the real Mexican, heartfelt response to the problem, from Guatemala to Chiapas. There is an exhibition by third graders---drawings of a village massacre going on, people in colorful native traje, troops in camouflage uniforms and short haircuts firing on unarmed Indians, helicopters firing from the air into villages, helicopters firing into pine forests, villages burning, beheaded bodies lying as seen through the eyes of third graders. A devastating exhibition.

CARGUA (Committee to Assist Refugees from Guatemala) is centered at La Galeria and works in the Montebello Lakes region, passing information and gathering funds, buying food, using whatever vehicles they can---usually Volkswagen vans or station wagons---to haul food into the refugee camps. Today they carried an auction of artworks and Indian artifacts, which was considered a grand success: 100,000 pesos (at 100 to 1).

Puerto Rico Camp —

December 19th. Up in the morning at 5:30 to drive fast and hard, 120 kilometers an hour, down to Comitan to meet Captain Tovar and his Skyhawk 180. The Captain immediately asked Edward to sit with him, saying, "Spanish speakers in the front."

We flew to Puerto Rico, a refugee camp which can only be reached by air and water. It is the most rugged territory I have ever seen with trees on it: volcanic, mixed with limestone, sinkhole wells, cenote, as they say in Yucatan, with winding rivers, incredibly steep peaks and valleys, overhanging cliffs, caves---truly rugged jungle territory that is spoken of in Spanish as *pura selva*.

The camps become thicker and thicker until we reach an area where there seems to be a small encampment every hundred yards along the river---groups of thatched huts looking like careless handfuls of litter thrown down on the green jungle. We come to an area of many camps, and one large one---Puerto Rico. At this camp of four thousand people, one kilometer from the border, the giant jungle trees still lay where they have been cut. The air strip is a flat stretch from which the giant stumps have been removed.

Puerto Rico is a large encampment, but there are many small camps in the immediate vicinity, where 25,000 Guatemalans are seeking refuge from the war. The camps are obviously brand-new. There are half-finished frame pole buildings with an insufficient amount of thatch to cover the roofs. The thatch is freshly cut, the trees are freshly felled. These people have been driven into some of the deepest jungle on the North American continent, running along the jungle floor to escape the helicopters.

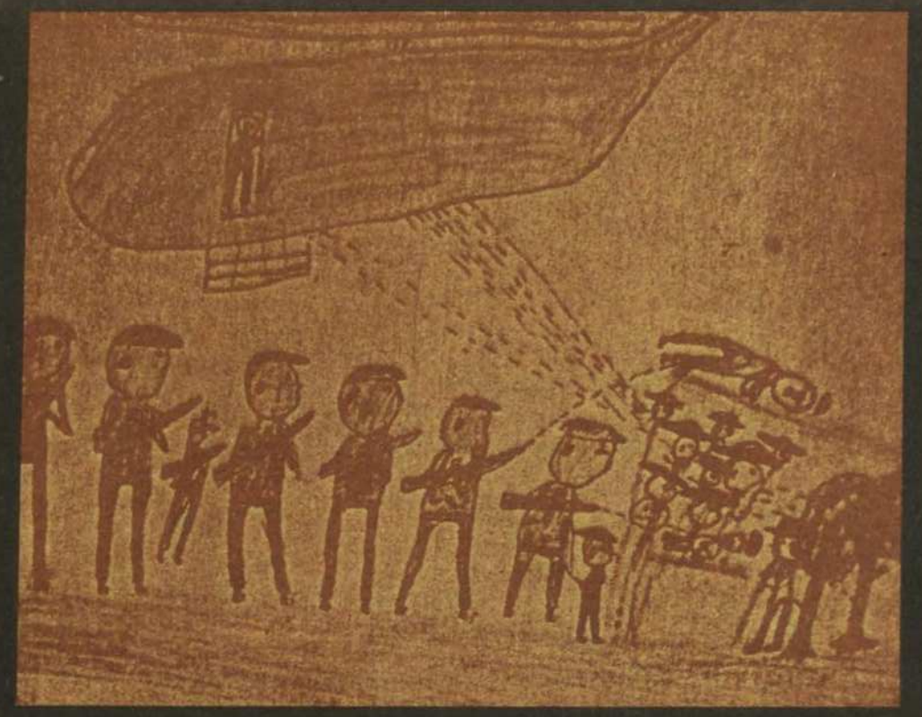
As soon as our plane landed, a dignified man in ragged clothes and a yellow ski hat came up and begged the pilot to take two sick babies into town for medical care. We made arrangements for the plane to fly the babies and their families out, and to return for us later.

Beautiful Indian women with thin faces, their cheekbones showing and the bones around their eyes in sharp relief, held tiny babies with huge eyes and the preternatural intelligence that comes with hunger. It soon became obvious that even the small necessities of our personal packs--athlete's food medicine, the bottle of peroxide for rinsing my teeth--are relevant and must be given away immediately to people who have serious uses for even these small stores.

When the people saw that we were not from any government, but truly came as citizens to try to help, they opened up to us and gave us their stories.

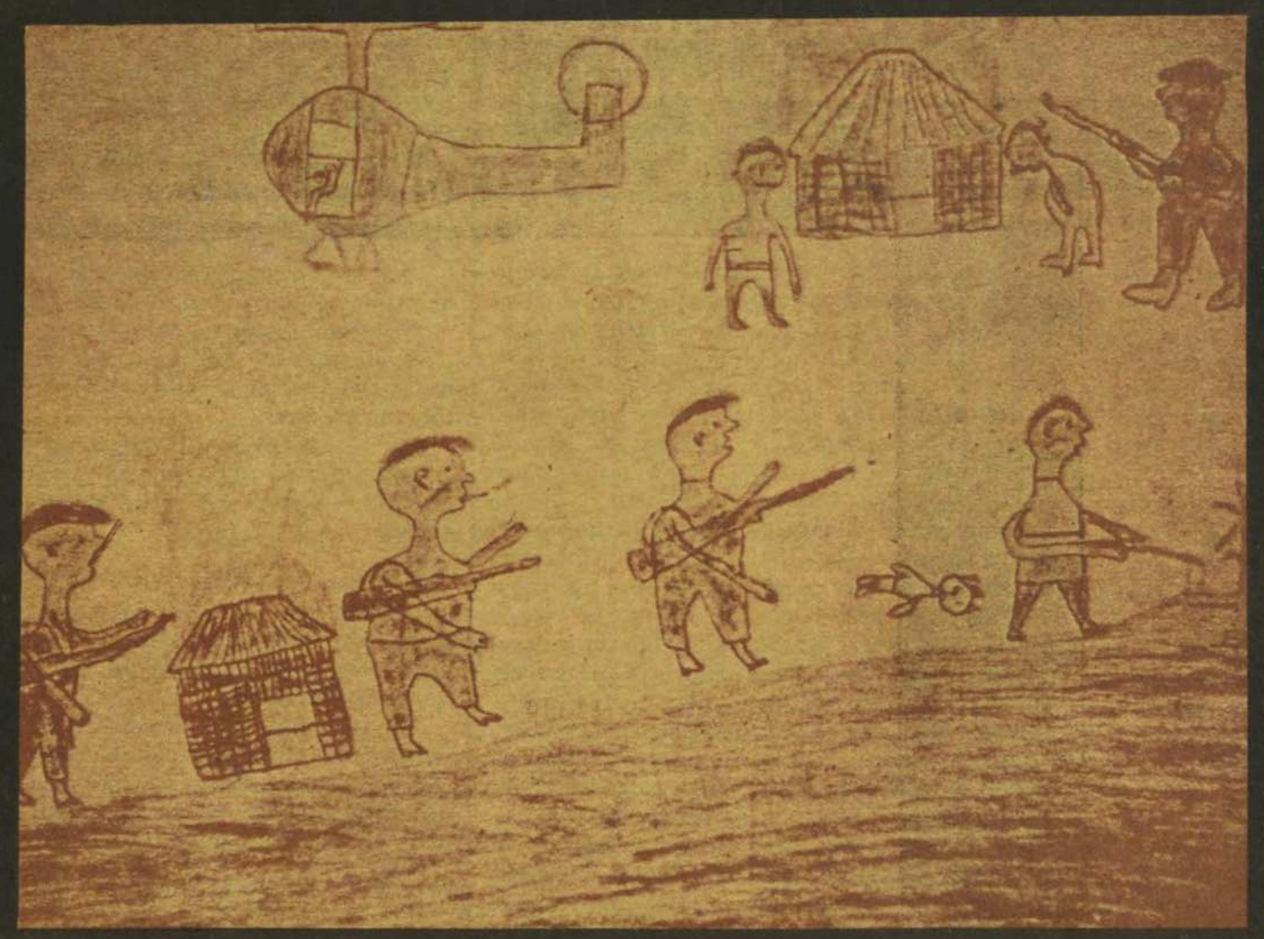
One man we talked to was from Todos Santos, and had been in the camp thirteen days. He followed the sounds of the airfield until he found a camp, after being lost in the jungle for six months before reaching the border.

Then a strong, handsome man in his fifties, with white hair in an inch-long brush cut and an evident air of authority, arrived. We explained to him that we wanted to find out the real situation with the refugees. He spoke at length.



THE MOST INNOCENT
(AND UNDENIABLE)
EVIDENCE:

— Mayan Children's drawings of the Guatemalan nightmare.



Testimony

"For a long time we have been suffering heavy exploitation, more than one can stand. We can't take it.

We are refugees right now because we can't live in our country, they are chasing us out, towards the border with the helicopters which we are getting to know quite well. Helicopters from the United States.

"They hate us, supposing that we are part of the guerillas. How is it that we who are known as hard working men, men whose hands are well calloused by working with axes in the mountains, that we should be accused?

"The government lies, to make the other countries believe that there is nothing going on. Only those that have come here for actual testimony get the full story. It is said that in Guatemala that there is peace, that nothing is the matter. But all along the Mexican border you will find Guatemalan refugees. Many are struggling against disease and hunger. We have a little bit of help, but it is not enough. They (the Mexican High Commission on Refugees) give us a little bit of help every week or so. It is enough for five days, and then we go hungry for two.

"There is not enough medicine, so the sicknesses continue. The body faints; it can't stand it, and we die. All of this because of a lack of food. Here we don't have any of the diet we ate at home where as hard-working farmers we had fruit, sugar cane, bananas, corn, oranges, limes. We could take a break from working and cut a fruit to refresh ourselves. Then corn was only eaten in small amounts. But here only dry grains and beans.

"We live in fear. The Mexican authorities gave us a card good for two months, because of the change of government they said. We don't have any assurance from their plans. Are they going to have us here or throw us out? How could it be possible for anyone to consider sending us back, into the ferociousness of a beast waiting for meat, to eat us? It is not possible."

At this point a young Indian man stepped forward and said, "Forgive this if it seems suspicious, but we must know where you are from so that we may know if it is safe to speak with you." He explained that since Rios Montt's policy of bullets and beans, even people who brought food might not be safe to speak to. We assured him that we were from an independent aid group, and had no government or religious ties. Satisfied, he began to speak of the situation.

"We would like it if Rios Montt would come so that we could point out these injustices of what he is doing to us in Guatemala. When we were in Guatemala, we would present him with memorandums calling his attention to the rights we were losing. The group that would try to reclaim its rights would subsequently receive repression, kidnapping and eventually disappear.

"Right now, we cannot go back. It is impossible. It is like we said, Rios Montt is a liar. When he came in he said he was a friend of the peasants. But what happened? Within a couple of weeks he was proving to be worse than Lucas.

"We are afraid. We do not want to die. If our only offense is that we work and we eat, how can that be an offense? We all have a right to eat.

"We hear Rios Montt on the radio, accusing all refugees in Mexico of being subversives. We are not subversives. If we were guerillas we would be down in Guatemala putting bullets into soldiers. We would have stayed. But because we are not guerillas, we flee in order to defend ourselves. We are here as refugees. A guerilla doesn't run, he fights; but us, we flee."

Photo Credit: Francis Warlde

Community of Panimasignan at Fiesta to Butcher and eat young steer.

"We hear Rios Montt on the radio, accusing all refugees in Mexico of being subversives. We are not subversives. If we were guerillas we would be down in Guatemala putting bullets into soldiers. We would have stayed. But because we are not guerillas, we flee in order to defend ouselves. We are here as refugees. A guerilla doesn't run, he fights; but us, we flee.

"We landed here because this is the way station where we came over. We solicited permission from the Mexican farmer who owns the land; he said it would be fine if we stayed here, only one kilometer from the border. We thought at least we would be outside of the country and it wouldn't be so easy for the soldiers to come and massacre us.

"The Mexican Commission came and authorized us to stay here for awhile. They gave us immigration cards, and when they came back with newspaper people they announced that here we would stay, we cannot go further into Mexico. The river is to the north of us a kilometer and the border just south. We would like to have been able to head further into Mexico.

"We have thought about this, and if the Commission would authorize us further entry into Mexico we would feel more secure. Right now, it is pretty much life or death. If the army comes in by night intending to massacre us, he easily can.

"For example, in a place nearby, the army massacred three or four hundred people. This was back home in Guatemala. It was a Sunday. The people were in the village square. We knew the situation was hard already. The people were selling their wares, not thinking about it. Then the army entered in from the mountains and the people were surrounded. When the people of the village heard the shots, some were able to make their escape, ducking bullets as they fled. Others stayed there and were killed and burned until now all you would find are ashes and bones."

A young Indian man, apparently full grown, although less than 4'11", stepped forward to take up the story. "Not even bones, only ashes."

"I know of this because I returned to find that they had burned my entire family, just like that. We were unworried, knowing that we had done no wrong. People went shopping in the square. My family went to buy. We weren't aware that we were surrounded, later to be massacred. What crime had those children committed? Why should the government have sent its army upon us? But nonetheless, it did. They army threw itself upon the people. And the people didn't know what it was about any more than we know now. Those that stayed were killed. Me, I remain alone, my whole family slain.

"We were working hard with our machete, working the corn, single-mindedly. But with the same kind of machetes, they killed my family. I am from Cuarto, Pueblo. Near the village of Mayalan near the border."

After an hour or two, the plane came to pick us up to take us back to the airfield. As we left, the people, all of whom greeted us beautifully and politely, "Buenas tardes," ("Good afternoons,") and told us "Que le vaya bien." ("May you travel well.") The only thing I could say was, "Nos vemos," which is "We shall see each other again." That is the most important thing, that these people should remain alive, that they should see anyone again.

MEXICAN TREATMENT OF REFUGEES

In January, 1982, the U.N. estimated there were 3,000 refugees among less than a dozen camps in Mexico. Presently there are about 50 camps and a conservative estimate of 100,000 refugees. Historically and culturally both sides of the border are Mayan. Some of the refugees have fled far into Mexico; some, who were seasonal workers in the Mexican plantations, simply stayed on. Some are held in temporary border camps; others have settled in with "cousins" in the small villages and ejidos. Gabriel Suarez, in an interview at La Galeria, spoke of the ejido system.

"An ejido is a village given collective use of land by the Mexican government. People in the ejidos are typically poor peasants and Indians.

"Among the refugees there is the clear idea of helping in the ejido. In (one camp called) la Sombra there had been killings (by the Guatemala soldiers) and the camp's aid was withdrawn for political reasons. Five big trucks of food were sent out, about seven tons each truck. The camp had overflowed its boundaries and intermingled with the local ejido. So the refugees formed a committee and decided to give two trucks to the Mexican ejido. They decided that never as refugees in that area would they eat better than the Mexicans there. That is their decision of solidarity that exists among the people. It exists among the humble people.

"The Guatemalan refugees already had permission to seek refuge with the ejidos. That is very important. They never invaded, they first asked the ejido."

Guatemalan Indian refugees in Southern Mexico, 1982. Photo Credit: Plenty Internation

After slow initial response, the Mexican Government has appointed the Mexican High Commission on Refugees, which is administering a million-dollar U.N. grant. The suspicion remains that the Mexicans are running the refugee camps a little slim on purpose because they don't want to encourage people to come into them.

Of course, such a policy can get out of hand. Last October, 1500 refugees were evicted, by force of arms, from their refugee camp at Rancho Tejas.

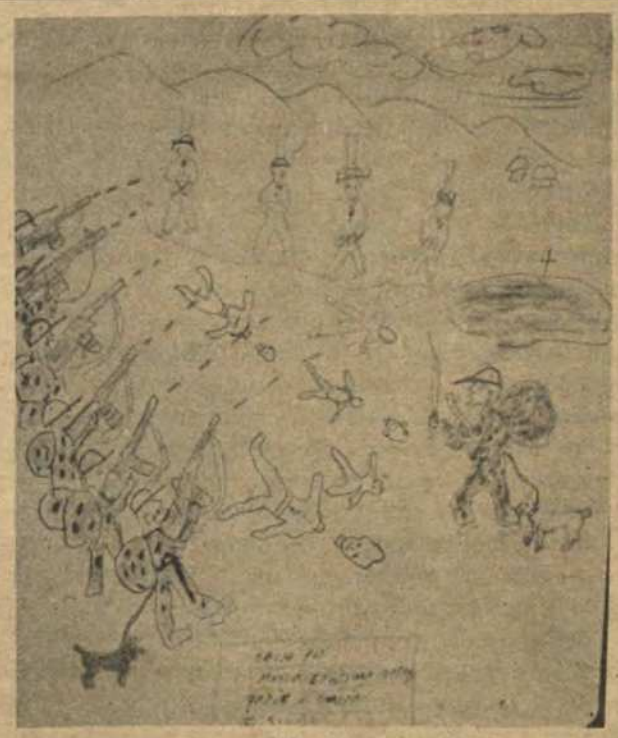
Although the newly installed Miquel de la Madrid government no longer deports the refugees, there is still a problem with racism.

In the words of an American visitor to the camp in November, 1982:

"Thus it is easy for two young officials from Mexico City to dominate 5,000 Indians. "You! you from Mayalan! What have you people been doing? What? You've got to work. What thanks do you give us for what we are doing for you? If you're not satified, you should go back to Guatemala, one says to a village leader, as one would scold a child." He conducts his tirade from a reclining position, stretched out over some bags of corn, as the leaders stand in front, hats in hand, waiting for some announcement as to when corn will be distributed. He is the nephew of the official who runs the local office of the Mexican Refugee Commission. Nearby is a thatched hut with seven tons of sardines, milk, cooking oil, beans and corn which the Comite Cristiano has donated to the refugess. It has been there for some time. 'You people have no reason to accept that food,' the young official continues. 'If you want the food of the priests, go ahead, take it. Go on. But the priests won't be sending any more, and if you want to take their food, then don't expect to be coming back to us."

"An unidentified government official stated that Morales 'was acting in conflict with Mexico's official refugee policy,...' Mexico's Government Minister Enrique Olivares Santana stated that there would be no more deportations and that political asylum would soon be granted to the refugees in the 30 Chiapas camps. Olivares stated, however, that Mexico would reserve the right to relocate the refugees where their labor power would be most useful to Mexico."

"These people have been driven into some of the deepest jungle on the North American continent, running along the jungle floor to escape the helicopters."



Crayola drawing of life in western Guatemala, 1982, by Indian child. Courtesy: Plenty International

"The children... they took them out hugging them with peace and charity. They took them to a house and there they stab them."

Documentation of the Third Grade Drawings

After we had seen the pictures at La Galeria, we asked the proprietor, "Where are the camps of the children who drew pictures?"

"Campamento la Sombra and Campamento la Hamaca," he answered. "The majority of the children there are from the San Francisco area, which was destroyed. The children were given paper and I personally told them: Draw what you remember of your country, Guatemala."

"Is that all?" I ask.

"That was all."

Many of the refugee children who made the drawings were orginally from the area of Nenton in Huehuetenango. The Diocese of San Cristobal de las Casas reports on the fate of one of the villages in that area:

"The community of the village of San Francisco, used to live in tranquility. They had their corn and they attended to their chickens. The children grew. They prayed. They learned *catecismo* and learned how to love one another and work together. The army visited the community a few times and gave medicine. Not only that, it promised to help in the solution of the problems they had as to the land. The people were in peace, ... they trusted. The seventeenth of July the army came again. It took the members of the civil patrols, which are instituted by the government itself, and killed them. It surrounded the town, and devastated it. They killed children, elderly, women and men --- all died. Of the 350 inhabitants, only 12 were able to survive, miraculously. They had no fault and they had trusted."

The massacre of San Francisco was very well documented by eyewitnesses.

"In San Francisco they took out the ladies, about twenty per group, and outside they left the little children. They first took out our ladies and they put them in our houses which were already empty and from there they shot bullets at them. They threw bombs to kill the ladies. After killing them there they set them on fire. Anyone that moved inside the house they lit on fire and the whole house burned to ashes. That was the end of the ladies. And later the children. The children of 12, 10, 15, 7, 8, one of 10 months. They took them out hugging them with peace and charity. They took them to a house and there they stabbed them. They cut up their insides of the poor children. The poor little children are still screaming. They do not like this. Even though they are still alive, and pile them up inside the house. That was all of that. Having finished killing our children they began with the elderly..."

Rios Montt's Evangelical Progrom

"HOLY" WARS

The war in Guatemala is a genocidal and ethnocidal war of extinction along racist, religious lines. With American assistance, the million Ladinos of western civilization in the cities are waging war on the six million Indians who live in the countryside.

The competition between Catholics and the fundamentalists, the *evangelicos*, has been going on in Central America for a long time. Guatemala, having been a Catholic country at one time, has virtually disenfranchised the Catholic church. Even under the Lucas regime, the government still favored the Protestant missionaries who came in because they were using the Protestant missionaries as a lever to uproot Catholicism.

Things have gotten seriously worse under Rios Montt. Before him, it was mostly political and somewhat racial. Under Rios Montt, it has become overtly racial and religious as well.

The massacres have the characteristic savagery of places where people kill each other for racial and religious reasons, trying to "wipe each other's seed from the earth." We are experiencing the religous wars of the 20th century: Spanish Catholic South America and Protestant North America: the Jews and the Arabs; the Arabs and the Christians; the Protestants and the Catholics in Ireland; and between the Protestants and Catholics in Guatemala. And underneath it all, most grass-roots of it all, the struggle for survival of traditional native religions and life ways. At another level, mainstream Christianity tries to hold off the missionaries of Moon, Hare Krishna, Scientology, arms that reach out around the world. And now a newcomer has raised its head on the national and international scene.

Gospel Outreach, a small darkhorse entry, has fielded out a whole country on its own: Guatemala. Rios Montt belongs to their church and teaches Sunday school. It used to be only the big religions, like the Catholics or the Lutherans, who could control an entire country, but with modern media and the ability to take over with sophisticated military weapons in a very short time, even a small sect has the potential of "evangelizing" a whole country.

A pogrom is being carried out against the Indian people, as cruel if not as efficient as the Holocaust. Western civilization continues its pattern of, as the conquistadors said, the "reduction" of the Indians.

The National Council of Churches says in their report:

"There are deeply rooted racial prejudices of Ladino (Guatemalans of mixed Spanish-Indian blood or those identifying with them) toward Indian people and a failure fully to understand the Indian cultures and especially their ties to the land. Govenment intent to make Guatemala one nation "in place of 23 carries the threat of extinction for the rich cultures of the Indian groups." One of them, Ixcan, is nearly extinct.

This is deeper than the problems between the Ladinos and the Indians in Guatemala. The fact is that the United States is an outpost of Europe in the New World even now. The attitudes that are killing the Indians in Central and South America are the same attitudes that killed the Indians of North America in the last century. They are the continuing colonization of the western hemisphere by the European-based cultures. The East Coast of the United States has not made up its mind whether it is loyal to the New World or to the Old World. They still buy their suits from English tailors.

There is a root danger in the colonization of the entire world. When we take away the people's native ways of how to make it, we are unable to give them back anything else to replace it with that is as honestly keyed to the real hard times and good times of rains and droughts and suns and freezes. Already, in places where they were colonized away from what the Western culture thinks of as "savagery," they are reduced to a dependence on electric motors and gasoline engines. When they lose the gasoline and the electricity they are unable to survive. They no longer have the natural systems which were developed over thousands of years.

The National Council of Churches report: "The people in certain areas have lost most of the harvest because of crop burning or the people's absence during planting time, and are in great need of food, shelter, and medicines. Military distributions and food for work programs do not reach all the people in need and do not provide an adequate diet for those they do reach." They also point out the "indigenous communities have relatively few and basic needs according to Escobar: often a community will identify a cemetery wall as its greatest needs." They also report that "there is an atmosphere of fear and an attitude of submission among the people."

The *evangelicos* teach, according to Americas Watch: " 'He who resists authority is resisting that which has been established by God,' said a fundamentalist preacher at a military-sponsored rally in El Quiche in July. 'He who lacks God in his heart is the one who is unable to love the authorities.' "

The National Council of Churches reports: "Most of the Roman Catholic clergy and religious workers are still suspect of being in sympathy with anti-government elements. There is a deliberate effort on the part of the Guatemalan government to discredit church sources of information on violations of human rights in Guatemala."

Americas Watch reports: "The official attitude toward socially-concerned sectors of the Catholic Church differs sharply from the official attitudes toward fundamentalist Protestantism. This may reflect the personal beliefs of Rios Montt, himself a 'born again' Christian, but it is also noteworthy that the religious message brought by some fundamentalists tends to support the counter-insurgency effort."

The Guatemalan News and Information Bureau reports: "Evangelical ministers, whose numbers in Guatemala have increased by 18 percent since born-again Christian Rios Montt took power, distribute food in the villages. They also preach about the evils of communism and the necessity of obeying and respecting the army and government. Operation Lovelift, part of Gospel Outreach of Eureka, CA, is in charge of the food distribution and village construction. Gospel Outreach is the U.S. part of the Church of the Word sect that Rios Montt belongs to."

The massacres in Guatemala will be remembered as the Inquisition of the Protestants, and will forever remove the Protestants' moral superiority to the Catholics in the matter of torturing and killing people to obtain converts to the Church.

In *The New York Times* Salomon Nahmad, the director of indigenous education in Mexico's Education Ministry, says, "Those Americans are the Franciscans and Dominicans of our time," referring to the Catholic clergy who accompanied the Spanish conquistadors four centuries ago. "They might not see it that way, but they are the religious arm of an economic, political and cultural system. They are plainly a part of American penetration."

The President's own brother has been run out of the country after receiving numerous threats on his life. As *The New York Times* further reports:

"Among the worried is bishop Mario Enrique Rios Montt, the President's older brother and the prestigious Catholic prelate of Escuintla, a town south of the capital. 'What is going on in Guatemala may have grave consequences,' says Bishop Rios Montt, whose own life has been threatened numerous times in the past. If people's religous sentiments are manipulated, "it could well turn into a religious war more serious than our political war."

"Like some other Catholic leaders in the region, Bishop Rios Montt decries the rise of Protestantism as part of a larger design, conceived in the United States."

AGAINST THE PEOPLE . . .

His fears are not without substance. Americas Watch reports:

"Although the Catholic hierarchy in Guatemala is doctrinally and socially conservative, for over a decade local priests in the poorest areas--notably El Quiche and Huehuetenango departments, among others--have supported Indian efforts to organize for economic improvements, agricultural education and literacy, on the basis of a theology of liberation that has identified much of Latin America's Catholic Church with the economic and social aspirations of the poor. Under Lucas Garcia, many such priests were either killed by rural security forces and death squads or forced to abandon their parishes and flee the country."

However, the forces of the Protestants are clearly on the upswing. On November 7, 1982, *The New York Times* reports, in a comprehensive story by Marlise Simons,

"Since Guatemala's March 23 coup, life at the Christian Church of the Word--Guatamala's most famous and powerful sect because of General Rios Montt's patronage--has not been the same. When the young rebel officers telephoned the general and asked him to be their leader, church elders were convinced that the choice was God's will.

"Two of the church elders--Francisco Bianchi, former television executive and now Secretary of Public Relations, and Alvaro Contreras, restauranteur and engineer--have become the President's personal assistants. The President refers to them as "my conscience," and outside of the military they are regarded as the most powerful men in the presidential entourage."

As *The New York Times* also points out, the real significance of General Rios Montt's rise to power transcends Guatemala. "He symbolizes the startling growth of Protestantism--especially fundamentalism--throughout once solidly Roman Catholic Latin America."

Rios Montt claims that the U.S. Christians had offered to send "more than a billion dollars' worth of aid." The missionaries of the Gospel Outreach Organization have taken over but one country so far; they consider Rios Montt to be a central figure in the coming of the new Protestant world order.

The evangelicos are teaching that God wants you to be submissive to the government. The guerrillas are teaching against that. They are saying that time goes on indefiniately, which is to say that there is no Judgement Day and that heaven and hell are only psychological constructs, not places. But as the U.S. press has reported, the Indians found out that, with Rios Montt and the army of Guatemala, there is God, there is Heaven, and there is Hell.

This is what Rios Montt calls the spiritual transformation of the Indians: this, the Protestant Inquisition.

CONTRA EL PUEBLO . . .

"The reports that come from the U.S. government mention few specifics, as if it was all so far removed, with such strange names, as to be almost off the edge of the map. However, in the Mexican press, there are long lists of the names, of the officers who did the atrocities..."

DISINFORMATION

There is a media war going on in the United States where the arguments and the information take place in the United States and the victims of the war die in Guatemala.

It seems clear that any change in Guatemala's status in regards to being the recipient of helicopter parts has not resulted from any change of policies, implementation of policies, intentions, or any other facet of the Rios Montt government, but only a change of policy on the part of the United States government. There has been no change on the part of the Guatemalan government.

When the Reagan administration wanted to preserve the helicopter sales, they began to issue press releases to the media stating that the situation in Guatemala had improved. The pointed disinformation that came through the country gave sudden optimistic estimations of the Guatemalan situation, somewhat cheerily passing over the number of deaths much in the manner of congratulating a mugger for the speed and accuracy of the mugging, legitimizing the act by its success and its skill.

The December 27th edition of *The San Jose Mercury* refers to "Rios Montt: Paternalism That Works" and "Pacification of border country becoming a reality in Guatemala." "Guatemalan Plan Shifts from Guns to Beans." Another headline read, "Guatemala tiptoes toward Democracy: A nascent legislature includes formerly outcast Indians." But during the period reported on, and during the time when Reagan says conditions were improving, the Washington Office on Latin America reported that bombings and massacres continued.

While newsmen were being shown pacified areas of Huehuetenango, Quiche and Solola, the army's new offensive continued in the province of San Marcos. Military actions by Guatemalan special forces ("kaibiles") took place through the latter part of November, including the destruction of the villages of Carrisal, Monte Cristo, Bullaj, Chalquits, Taquian Grande, Totana, and Pueblo Nuevo.

On December 23, 1982, the same day Congressman Barnes met with Ambassador Enders to discuss the helicopter sales, the village of Santa Rita, in the state of San Marcos, was attacked with heavy artillery and mortars. Congressman Barnes came away from this meeting apparently believing that the situation in Guatemala had improved.

The reports that come from the U.S. government mention few specifics, few names, acting as if the people in the villages up there are so far removed, with such strange names, as to be almost off the edge of the map. However, in the Mexican press, there are long lists of the names of the officers who did the atrocities, and the names of the people whose bodies were counted by their friends and relations who survived the massacres. It is known name by name, troop by troop, gun by gun, where the guns came from. The United States still affects not to know what is going on.

As the Americas Watch investigators concluded:

"The Embassy staff are at the disadvantage of not having visited Chiapas, southern Mexico, to interview refugees there. Unlike human rights groups, therefore, the Embassy has not, at first hand, received reports from Guatemalans relatively safe from reprisal and able to speak freely. But in discussion with the Americas Watch delegation, Embassy officers made it clear that they considered these refugees neither essential sources nor credible ones; they are dismissed, rather, as guerrilla sympathizers creating propaganda against the army. The basis for this characterization appears to be the act that they fled the army.

"Questioned about the findings of human rights groups that have interviewed these refugees, a political officer explained that in the Embassy's view, the 'burden of proof' is on the refugees to prove their statements, not on the army of Guatemala to prove its innocence. Told that the delegation had corroborated aspects of refugees' statements with Mexicans in Chiapas, Ambassador to Guatemala Chapin stated that he "wouldn't believe a gooddamn thing any Mexican told me."

"A political officer called into question the testimony of a Finca San Francisco survivor, on the grounds that his account of escaping from beneath a pile of dead bodies was much like the account of an escape given by a survivor from another nearby village where a massacre also reportedly took place; the similarity struck this officer as suspicious. As noted above, neither that officer nor anyone else on the political staff had visited San Francisco, nor talked with these two survivors. The opinion therefore reflected assumptions rather than independently verified data; yet it was consistent with the overall attitude of Embassy staff with whom the delegation met."

In a more recent Washington Post report of atrocities in Guatemala since December 29, Christopher Dickey, although apparently too disciplined to draw the conclusion himself, nonetheless accurately reports the answer of a deaf mute who perhaps didn't know better what to say about the massacres. In an area where many of the people said, "Oh no, we don't know who did these things," the deaf mute stood, saluted smartly, whirled his arm over his head and pointed to the sky. Clearly the army and the helicopters.

SUBVERSIVES

There's something unfair about labeling every attempt on the part of any downtrodden people anywhere in the world to relieve themselves of their suffering as "Communist." It all stems from Reagan's evident fixation that any way that the peasants of Guatemala get a square deal will result in Russia domination of Mexico, right up to Texas.

There were revolutions even before Marx or Lenin were born. They were about the divine right of kings, where you were considered to be against God, if you were against the king. When Rios Montt says Communist, he means Indians who live collectively like they did before Western civilization came to this country.

In the climax phase of the Indian civilization, the Mayans, the Aztecs, the Incas, excesses were committed equal to those of Greece and Rome. But the societies in which the great majority of New World people lived were organized in small communities. The Indians of North America didn't build castles. So these Indians could be called Communists, possibly with more justification than you would say it of a citizen of Moscow, who is only a small-time capitalist in a permanently depressed economy.

The State Department has had ready definitions for Communism: Marxist-Leninist. This is how they isolate the strain of Communism that they mean is the poisonous one, the Herpes II of the political world. And if that is the criteria, then what are we going to say about Indians who live up valleys, in the jungle, in Guatemala, who have never travelled more than 5 or 10 miles from their village, many of whom speak only Indian languages, not even Spanish, and who haven't the slightest idea what's going on anywhere else in the world? How then can these people be Communist? By decree!

The Americas Watch reports:

"Guatemala's state of siege law, Decree Law No. 45-82, makes persons subject to warrantless arrest if they are considered "persons belonging or having belonged to groups that act in cooperation with or in subordination to international organizations that uphold the philosophy of Marxism/Leninism. Thus it establishes a 'crime of opinion' with ideas or presumed ideas, rather than actions, being sufficient grounds for limitless detention. Thus, the authorities may arrest whom they please solely on the basis of an accusation concerning the detainee's thoughts and philosophy. Moreover, the detainee has no effective legal recourse since the writs of *habeas corpus* and *amparo* are suspended during the state of siege."

The Americas Watch further reports:

"Army methods of distinguishing "subversive" from "non-subversive" individuals or villages can be crude at best. As Indian sources told us, to show fear in the presence of soldiers places a campesino under immediate suspicion, and in immediate danger. Asked how he acts when raiding a village including women and children, if that village is suspected of harboring guerrillas, a soldier in Cunen, El Quiche, told *Washington Post* reporter John Dinges: "When there is a battle, we shoot everybody alike, even though they don't have uniforms... Practically all of them are guerrillas...so the order is to attack everybody alike."

Amnesty International corroborates the extent of the power given to the military to determine who is subversive and who is not.

What is the result of such sweeping powers being given to the military?

"During an interview carried out in April by a foreign journalist, a transcript of which is in Amnesty International's possession, civil defense patrol members from Baja Verapaz admitted that they had been involved in such atrocities. They stated that they acted under the orders of military commanders who instructed them to consider as "involved" anyone they found over the age of 12 in areas or houses considered suspicious by the commanders. They were told to seize such people and kill them. Even younger children, if they too were felt to be "involved," were to be summarily executed..."

This is not to say the guerrillas are not guilty of something. *The guerrillas are guilty of thinking they can foment revolutionary force by a strategy of summary executions and hit-and-run attacks which have the result of leaving behind an unarmed and defenceless indian/peasant population--subject to the documentable massacre/scorched earth tactic of the Rios Montt government.* In a country like Guatemala, with an overwhelmingly indian culture-base, it was a strategythat never had a fighting chance, and that naivete has some responsibility in the horrendous loss of life. But it's also true that the American people do not get to act naive. In these days of global communication, they cannot say, like the good Germans, that "they didn't know" what was going on in Guatemala. The National Council of Churches reports:

"The army says that the guerrillas are responsible for the incident; the villagers say the army is responsible."

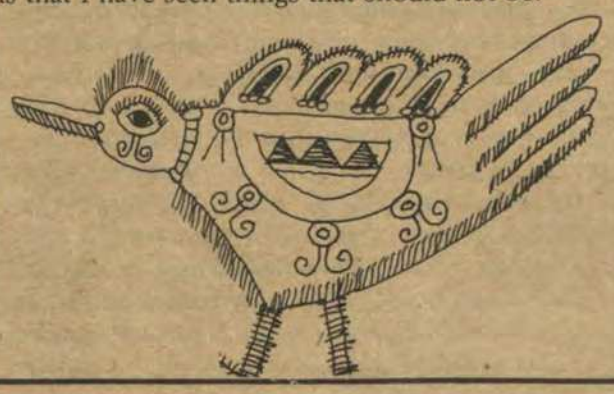
From the Americas Watch report:

"We encountered allegations by knowledgable persons, who did not provide details, that there are instances in which the guerrillas have engaged in massacres. We condemn these actions. Our delegation's visit to Guatemala and our other research have convinced us, however, that most of the killings of campesinos are attributable to the army, and that such extra-judicial executions are a *central element* in the government's counter-insurgency, or 'pacification,' strategy..." (Emphasis supplied.)

"Indian sources with whom the Americas Watch delegation spoke, as well as knowledgable persons in the U.S. government and in human rights organizations, maintain that campesinos are not generally confused by disguise. Soldiers' identities show in their accents, gestures and the fact that they often do not speak the area's Indian language (there are 23 such languages in Guatemala). Weapons, too, distinguish the army from the guerrillas; campesinos know the word "Galil" for the Israeli-made rifle used by the armed forces, and know the difference between a Galil and the M-16's of the guerrillas.

In the *Arizona Daily Star,* Manuela Saquic, a teen-age Indian refugee is quoted as saying'

" 'In my country, the army says that those who run when the army comes are guerrillas. But in truth, if you don't run, they kill you, so what is the choice?' She does not understand what it is to be a Socialist or a Communist. 'I do not know what that means, or what those people stand for. All I know is that I have seen things that should not be.' "



REAGAN INDIAN POLICY STATEMENT

January 14, 1983

Strong and effective tribal governments are essential in the fight to solve the economic, health, educational, social and other problems of some 735,000 American Indians living on or near reservations. Just as the Federal government deals with States and local governments in meeting the needs of other citizens, so should the Federal government deal with tribal governments in promoting the well-being of American Indians.

The President's Indian Policy Statement emphasizes the Administration's commitment to encourage and strengthen tribal government as called for by President Nixon in 1970 and by Congress in the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. The 1970 policy and 1975 law have not been adequately implemented because the Federal government has inhibited the political and economic development of the tribes. Excessive regulations and self-perpetuating bureaucracy have stifled tribal decisionmaking, thwarted Indian control of reservation resources, and promoted dependency rather than self-sufficiency.

This Administration will reverse this trend by removing obstacles to self-government and by creating a more favorable environment for development of healthy resevation economies. This policy recognizes the diversity of the tribes and the right of each to set its own priorities and goals, and to proceed at its own pace. At the same time, the Federal government will continue to fulfill its traditional responsibility for the physical and financial resources held in trust for the tribes and their members.

Indian tribes are tribal governments because they retain all aspects of their original sovereignty not otherwise given up or taken away by Congress. There are 283 Federally-recognized tribal governments in the United States. In addition, there are 193 Alaska village organizations which are served by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). According to figures released by the U.S. Census Bureau, there were 1,418,195 American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts in the U.S. in 1980.

--The Adminstration will deal with Indian tribes on a government-to-government basis.

--Tribal governments will be strengthened through these actions:

*Today's signing of H.R. 5470, the Indian Tribal Governmental Tax Status Act. This legislation provides tribes with essentially the same treatment under Federal tax laws as applies to other governments with regard to revenue raising and saving mechanisms.

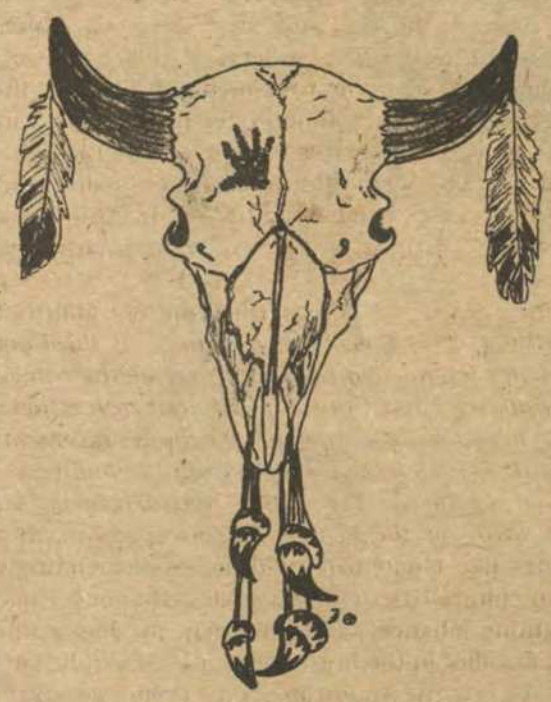
*Encouragement for tribes to assume responsibilities for services such as the enforcement of tribal laws, developing and managing tribal resources, providing health and social services, and education.

*Designation of the White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs as liaison for tribes. By moving this function from the White House Office of Public Liaison, the President recognizes that tribal organizations are governments rather than interest groups such as veterans, businessmen and religious leaders.

*A request that Congress expand the authorized membership of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to include a representative of Indian tribal governments.

Reagan Policy continued on page 30

Let Us Act To Re-empower The People



"Peace is not simply the absence of war, it is the active striving for a social justice which will enable humans to live without fear, without hunger, and without all of the manifestations of ruling classes... We must struggle against all forms of social injustice."

Imperialism, colonialism, capitalism — these are terms that describe processes which have impoverished, disempowered, divided, brutalized and mystified the peoples of the world. The native peoples of the Western Hemisphere — the American Indians — are victims of the most terrible and heinous crimes in the history of the world. Our peoples have been subjected to wars of extermination, wars of dispossession, to policies involving the use of germ warfare, to dislocation, persecution, racism, mass executions, and cultural genocide. Most North American and European peoples state that they are unaware that these horrors continue today in the form of massacres in El Salvador and the Guatemala highlands and settler pressures in the rain forests of Brazil, the mass relocation of Navajos in the Southwestern United States and the dislocation of the Cree people of norther Quebec.

The problem that we face — the problem of survival — goes far beyond the need to overcome the physical genocide which is the most dramatic form of destruction. Most Native people — including the Haudenosaunee — have faced wars of extermination. Many became extinct during these wars. Following the wars, our people were herded onto reservations which offered insufficient hunting areas to meet our needs and which were administered by government agents whose goal was to "civilize" our people.

The process of "civilization" was far more an economic strategy than a cultural one. Indians were told that they must learn to engage the market economy or starve. That reality — work in the market economy or starve — was a reality created for us by our oppressors to their own benefit. It is a reality which exists for all the poor people of the world today, and it is the prescribed nature of this reality which we must struggle to change.

Native people have been engaged in that struggle, but our efforts have been seriously misunderstood. The reservation experience has taught us that our oppressors must destroy our culture in order to successfully force us into the market economy. This is the reason they have worked so diligently to change our manner of dress, our political and economic institutions, to obliterate our languages and to destroy our Native religions.

Our peoples have been forced to speak the language of the market, wear the clothing of the market, learn the skills needed by the market, and to adopt the worldview and religion of subservience to the market. This is the true objective of acculturation or if you prefer "civilization." The major weapons used to accomplish these ends have been economic — food, clothing and shelter — the basic necessities of life.

The process of colonialism is psychological, economic and political warfare. The result is that people must exchange their natural resources, their land and their labor for the means of subsistence. The mechanism of exploitation by which people are drawn into the service of their oppressors is the market economy.

Native people in struggle understand that forced acculturation is a necessary part of the oppression. It was not adequate to the purposes of colonialism that the people were murdered, brutalized and robbed; the survivors must also become slaves to an alien economic system. To Native people, resistance to acculturation is part of the process of resistance to oppression.

The problem, however, is not simply to resist acculturation. The Native people — in fact most people of the world — have been disempowered. They have no power over their own lives. The problem is — how to reempower the people? This is a very difficult question. It means that we must look carefully at the process of colonization and to find strategies to liberate ourselves from each of the aspects of that process which destroy our freedoms of choice.

Native people have been accused of being "anti-technology" because many of our spokesmen have pointed to extractive and ecologically destructive Western technologies as a problem. Native people are not opposed to technology, but we are beginning to develop a critique of the history and effects of specific technologies on human cultures. The human species evolved as it did because of its peculiar relationship to tools, and human cultures are defined by the tools they use. We are beginning to develop the ideology that the choices we make about the tools we use will have an effect on the kind of society we build.

Ours is a liberation struggle. It is a national liberation struggle in the sense that we seek to reempower the social institutions which we had in that period of time when our people had power over their own lives. We speak of a liberation theology as the redevelopment of our worldview, our respect for nature, our definitions of humanity and our search for peace and a just society. We speak of cultural liberation and economic liberation and we talk about liberation technologies.

To liberate and reempower the people, we must take action to insure that our people do not starve or freeze when they refuse to work as slaves in the industrial societies. We are beginninng to encourage economic self-sufficiency through the use of technologies such as hydroponics and solar power and wind energy so that we can begin to build an economy which meets the needs of people and not the needs of oppressor institutions. This is our definition of liberation technologies. We are planning an economy which measures material success on the basis of how much food or other goods and services we produce for our own consumption and rejecting the gross national product (GNP) model of the wage economy which measures the amount of dollar wealth produced for the market economy.

We are beginning to reject the role prescribed for us as workers for an alien economy and we are starting to define ourselves as workers in our own interest. We are beginning this process with the agricultural production (which includes forestry products) because food and hausing have been used as weapons against us and our efforts at true self-determination.

Ours is but one movement in a world in struggle. We understand the need to support workers in industrial societies in their struggles against the same ruling class interests which have stolen our lands, enslaved our peoples, destroyed the ecology of our environments, and where military technologies threaten to destroy life on this planet. We understand also that food is used as a weapon against workers in industrial societies and that the same processes of displacement and alienation have been practiced by ruling elites against all the poor people of the world, including the poor of industrial societies.

The subjugation of the Native people has been fairly recent. We continue to have memories of what life was like before the colonization, when spiritually-based classless societies were vital. We have much to offer other peoples of the world because of these memories.

Before the colonization, the Haudenosaunee were a nation dedicated to the principles of peace. We believe that a Supreme Intelligence exists in the Universe which has a plan for life on this Mother Earth and that for life to exist, peace must be a goal of humanity. PEACE is not simply the absense of war, it is the active striving for a social justice which will enable humans to live without fear, without hunger, and without all of the manifestations of ruling classes, managerial classes, working classes, and so forth. Life is the manifestation of the Creation's will, and we have seen that social injustice is at the root of the process leading to total ecologic and military destruction. We must struggle against all forms of social injustice if there is to be a true and lasting peace for all mankind, and this means that the emergence of liberated peoples is the only hope for the continuation of our species.

Let us go forth in unity, and solidarity with the consciousness that we have an obligation to preserve life and the quality of life for the future generations of our species. Liberation or extinction is not a slogan, it is a choice! Let us struggle to end oppression. Let us act to empower the people.

WATT LIES BEHIND THESE REMARKS?

Secretary of Interior James Watt appears to have misplaced his American history textbooks and his English language dictionaries. The fact that a Cabinet member of the United States government could make statements as eccentric as those made by Mr. Watt should serve to heighten world concern about the state of health of the executive branch of the U.S. government.

According to Mr. Watt, American Indians suffer a wide range of social problems because they have been living under — would you believe it — a system of *socialism!* He goes on to urge us to believe that all of the Indians' problems can be traced to what he calls "socialistic government policies" on Indian reservations including what he describes as "highest divorce rate, highest drug rate, highest alcoholism rate, highest unemployment rate, highest social disease."

Quite a few Indians are certain to be outraged at these statements because he appears to be calling Indians a bunch of drunken bums who are living off government handouts. He seems to be blaming that alleged state of affairs on his arch enemies, the Eastern liberals, a group Mr. Watt apparently identifies as the source of all evil in American government.

One can be quite certain that Mr. Watt will now backtrack and "clarify" his remarks to state that he didn't really mean to insult Indians and that his true motives were to point out the injustices done to Indians by a too-big and too-powerful federal bureaucracy. Despite these disclaimers, most of us are going to think that he *meant* what he *said*, even though what he said is pretty confused. One source of that confusion is that Mr. Watt has a shockingly tenuous grasp of the English language. At one point in the interview he is heard to state that American tourists who purchase an item of Native craftwork on an Indian reservation are somehow supporting a system of socialism! He says it's not only socialism but "terrible socialism" at that.

Having shaken our confidence in his ability to communicate in his native tongue, the Secretary then goes on to state that the chairmen of the tribes are to blame for the ills visited on the Indians because these recipients of federal handouts have a vested interest in keeping the Indians down on the reservation where they can't "get a job" and are prisoners of a welfare state. Mr. Watt apparently believes that at some as yet undocumented point in American history the Socialist International held a meeting and designed America's Indian policy. Careful observaton of the historical record will lead us to conclude that this "socialism" was rampant in the War Department early during the 19th Century at a period in time prior to the writings of Karl Marx and the development of the modern definition of socialism.

The Secretary chooses to ignore the overwhelming documentary evidence that the social ills to which he refers were in large part absent prior to the period of warfare against Indians and that Indian alcoholism and other forms of social disorientation followed episodes of warfare, forced relocation, and dispossession of lands and traditional economic bases. The roots of Native social problems are found not in socialism but in imperialism and in the injustices which resulted from that imperialism. Those injustices have not been corrected. The system of Indian government, which he finds to be such a failure, is not a result of socialism but rather a form of neo-colonialism--American style, a system that contains many injustices and which neither Mr. Watt nor his boss appear capable of correcting.

It is unfair to state that the tribal chairmen are trying to keep all the Indians in a state of tutelage to the federal government because they get a paycheck for doing so. The tribal chairmen who flew around in Lear jets during the 1970s are being replaced in the 1980s, as are those who found their way into office in order to further the interests of local white politicians and big ranchers or other business interests. Many of the people in tribal government are trying very hard to find ways to develop a real economic base on their lands. It is also untrue that Indians are held prisoner on the reservations. Indian people are free to seek employment away from the reservations and to integrate into American society if they wish. They are not held prisoner and there is no need for a federal policy to "liberate" them as physical captives. Those Indians who wish to be truly assimilated have the option of voting with their feet. The overwhelming majority of the people on the reservations are where they are because they do not wish to integrate into American society for a number of reasons, among which is the fact that they are distinct peoples who find a pride in their culture and in their communities and wish to preserve them and to develop them along lines compatible with their own values. There are some political hacks among the Indians who have less admirable motives, and it is true that many of these people came to power as a result of liberal programs. These kinds of people are increasingly in the minority, but their appearance is a phenomenon that American liberals need to consider relative to Indian policies which they have supported.

Nevertheless there exists an imposing contradiction in Mr. Watt's thinking. One of the major problems Indian people face is that whenever they choose to try to act to correct an obvious injustice, they are threatened with termination by the U.S. government, and that threat has come from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Department of the Interior, former Presidents, Congress, and the Courts. Termination was a policy implemented by a Republican Administration in the 1950s which resulted in dispossession of Indian lands. The government simply declared that certain Indians and Indian reservations no longer legally existed and that Indians will now receive their "rights" as U.S. citizens. It was a disaster for all but a few big companies which fell heir to a windfall in Indian land and resources. The history of the Termination Era with its Republican roots and its rhetoric of "liberation" and making the Indian an "equal" and full-fledged "responsible American citizen" when in fact it was a plan for a rip-off of Indian resources will help explain the strong Indian reaction to Mr. Watt's flippant remarks.

The Indians appear to face a continuing problem of becoming pawns in the ideological battles which take place in America. Mr. Watt is still outraged because the Great Society's social programs produced lawyers and other legal workers which educated Indians about their rights under the law. On the one hand, he says Indians should have their rights, and on the other he says

Excerpts from an interview with Secretary of the Interior James Watt on "CONSERVATIVE COUNTERPOINT" scheduled for broadcast over Satellite Program Network (SPN) January 19, 1983

Q: At the heart of the problem is a reservation policy which distinguishes Native Americans, distinguishes Indians from the rest of the population. Instead of a policy assimilation and integration with respect to the Indian, the policy is one of distinction, of separation. Do you think that's right?

WATT: We have tremendous problems on the Indian reservations. (How) I frequently talk about it by telling people if you want an example of the failures of socialism, don't go to Russia -- come to America and go to the Indian Reservations.

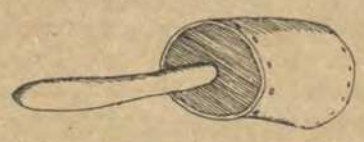
We have 50 million acres of Indian reservations, 1.4 million American Indians, and every social problem is exaggerated because of socialistic government policies on the Indian Reservations. Highest divorce rate, highest drug rate, highest alcoholism rate, highest unemployment rate, highest social diseases ... because the people have been trained through 100 years of government oppression to look to the government as the creator, as the provider, as the supplier, and they've not been trained to use the initiative to integrate into the American system.

We have terrible schools on the Indian reservations and we've tried to change that. Congress won't. The liberal eastern idea is that... I'll support the Indian people and they drive out to my home state of Wyoming in August for (a) two-week vaction, buy an Indian bead necklace, and think they have done their thing for Indian America. Terrible socialism. We ought to give them freedom, we ought to give them liberty, we ought to give them their rights, but we treat them as incompetent wards. I'm their trustee. They can't make a decision on the reservations about their water, their lands, they can't own land on the reservations.

Q: Is that the basis of much of the legitimate anger of many of the Indian leaders, forgetting the radicals for a moment (who) are using the Indian issues...the fact that they literally live on a plantation?

that the recent struggle for rights organized Indians into the wrong political (read Democratic) camps. It is a contradiction the Mr. Watt needs to address. He can see some injustices in the liberal programs but he does not understand that the injustices are that the programs have been largely bandaid operations which do not go to the root of the injustice and cannot address the most basic wrongs suffered by the Indians. He would like to see Indians "liberated" so that they could be integrated into the American society although the vast majority of the Indians obviously do not wish to become assimilated and do not wish to see their lands and resources taken from them in the name of "liberation."

Before he tackles these formidible contradictions, it might be a good idea for him to go home and find his American history books and turn to the chapters on American Indians. As he reads those, he might find it useful to dust off the old dictionary and look up a few words: socialism, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, welfare, trust, conservative, liberal, genocide, self-determination, justice, injustice. If he would do that, perhaps the next time he gives an interview he could use an unrevised form of the English language.



WATT: That's correct with big Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior controlling their rights. Now there are some benefits to that.

Q: Sure. Isn't it true that some of the established Indian leaders have a strong personal stake in the present policy and oppose what they call termination?

WATT: In the Great Society, we came in with all these legal aides and all these programs and made federal funds available to fund Indian Governments. So if you're the chief or the chairman, you're interested in keeping this group of people assembled on a desert environment where there are no jobs, no agriculture potential, no water, because if the Indians were allowed to be liberated, they'd go and get a job and that guy wouldn't have his government handout as a government Indian paid official.

Q:They've become Ward Bosses. I've heard Senator Goldwater in Arizona talk about the impact of federal legal services programs in taking an Indian community that was once very conservative in its values, radicallizing it politically, and then turning it out on a reliable basis for liberal candidates.

WATT: In too many instances. Now they're...fortunately there are some great American Indian people that want to bring freedom to their people. They want their people (to) have jobs and take their social place and we've been working with them and so it's very discouraging with the limitations that Congress gives us with the laws. It's very encouraging when you work with a few of the Indian people because they are electing some good people. There is hope if we'll let our people go. We ought to have...if we had treated the black people in America like we are now treating Indians or the Chinese or any of these other minority groups there would be a social revolution that would tear the country up. But Congress tolerates the abusive government actions on Indians and I try to liberate them and get squashed by the liberal Democrats in the House of Representatives.

TOBIQUE - MALISEET NATION

MALISEET NATION: FISHERMEN CHARGED WITH ILLEGAL FISHING

On Jan. 24, 1983 five Maliseet men were charged in a New Brunswick court (Canada) as the result of an incident August 7, 1982. The early morning incident took place when 16 federal and provincial fisheries officers descended on the Maliseet fishermen confiscating two fishing nets (valued at $150 each) and boats. Three men were taken into custody. The men were "manhandled" by the officers.

"Most of the wardens were armed. The ones in a boat pointed a gun at me and hollered 'halt or I'll shoot,'" said Wayne Nicholas, one of the arrested fishermen. (quote from Peter Calkin article) The men were released and charges were not filed from Aug. 7, 1982 until Jan. 24, 1983. The five men, Gerald "C." Bear, Roger Bear, Dwight Bear, Larry Perley and Wayne Nicholas, who is president of the Maliseet Nation Fishermen Committe, are charged with illegal fishing and Gerald Bear is also charged with obstruction of justice. The men pleaded not guilty and are to appear March 21, 1983 for trial.

The Maliseet Reserve at Tobique consists of about 700 Maliseets. The main source of income is welfare in an area which does not have an economic development plan. The people supplement their meager welfare payments by fishing, hunting and gathering wild foods. It is estimated that 15 fishermen catch about 8 fish per night. The salmon is shared with families in need, or frozen for winter, or traded for groceries.

The building of three dams in the 1950's and 60's drastically disturbed the salmon fishing cycle. According to Gerald Bear, "Once you disturb the natural flow you've changed nature, the natural cycles are diverted and other life forms in the food chain become unbalanced. New Brunswick Power Corp. didn't think of that -- all they saw was electricity and revenues."

The Maliseet Nation bases their right to fish, hunt and be a sovereign peoples on their aboriginal rights. The Maliseet Nation Fishermens Committee has issued statements on their aboriginal rights and treaty rights. "We have lived peacefully from the first Treaty signed over 250 years ago by our Ancestors. We have not attacked Canadian or British subjects, entered the territories they occupy in armed force, nor have we stolen the equipment their men use to support and feed their families."

Their statement continues, "These last six years our Nation's fishermen have suffered loss after loss. Arrests and fines alone have mounted in a tremendous financial hardship on the fishermen and their families. The Federal and Provincial Fisheries Officials have entered our territories and stolen fishing equipment, canoes, nets, padddles, salmon and a truck. There has even been a case where Federal Officials entered a home and removed salmon from a freezer, salmon that had been stored to subsidize the meager welfare this family receives and to insure a proper food balance for their children."

Gerald Bear states, "The people in struggle are committed to being a more self-reliant people." He explains that fighting for aboriginal rights includes maintaining jurisdiction and sovereignty. "We have the God given right to fish our own waters, hunt and to choose our own government," he states.

When asked whether he thinks the Malisset fishermen will receive justice from the Canadian courts he replied, "We know they are going to find us guilty as they always have. There's no justice in the Canadian court system - it is a system which is not designed to protect Indian rights."

This appears to be the case. In June 1978, Provincial Court Judge T. Wiley Tomlinson ruled that Maliseet people are subject to the Fisheries Act of Canada, which he says takes precedence over treaty rights. The Maliseets' have treaties dating back to 1693, but it is apparent these treaties are irrelevant in the Canadian court system.

The Maliseet fishermen anticipate more intense repression in the upcoming fishing season of 1983. They will continue to fish, says Gerald Bear, and would like to alert supporters, nationally and internationally, to get in contact. "The Canadian government strategy is to, one by one, community by small community, to deny our aboriginal rights. They do this piecemeal. So, we must respond in each and every instance. If we continue to fish the salmon, we continue to live our way of life, we continue to be Indians, conscious of our aboriginal rights. That is why our small struggle at Tobique is important and deserves support."

For further information and/or to make donations for lawyer fees contact:
Maliseet Nation Fishermens Committee
RR 3, Box 50
Perth, New Brunswick E0J1V0
Canada
c/o Juanita Perley

NATIVE CHILD

THE BUTTERFLY AND THE LITTLE PEOPLE

The little people lived in the land of the Creator...beyond the point where the sky meets the earth. They were bored and no longer fully appreciated the beautiful sky world. So, one day the Creator invited the little people to come to the earth to enjoy its beauty. The little people were lovers of beauty and marvelled at this new aspect of the Creation.

They fell in love with the flowers and the animals and begged to stay on the earth.

The Creator thought for a while and said to the little people, "You may stay here on this beautiful earth but you must have good reason to belong here." He though a little longer. "If you would be the caretakers and protectors of this earth, then I would allow you to stay. For this earth to remain beautiful, it must be constantly repaired. It is a very big task. You are very small in size but you all have big hearts."

The little people were very anxious to begin repair work and explore all their new surroundings. The Creator said, "My littlest people have decided to take on the biggest task. They will be the guardians and caretakers of the woods, the waters, and the earth. This is a very big burden for such tiny lighthearted people. I will give them special powers." So the Creator gave them wit, elusiveness, and a bit of magic.

He gave them the power to elude so that the repair work would go unnoticed and not show intervention on their part. He gave them wit because you need your wits about you when you are carrying on the demands of such a heavy burden. He gave them magic because it takes every bit of magic you can get, to care for this great earth. Then the Creator left them with their assigned tasks.

The little poeple were very hard workers. They were quiet in the woods and they respected every aspect of this wonderful creation. They made repairs to broken leaves; mended flowers, and animal wounds; and helped bring water to thirsty plants and animals. They were also quite creative. They decorated rocks with crystals and colors; they painted flowers; carved barks of trees; and busily named much of their surroundings.

They were the protectors and the caretakers of the woods, the waters, and the earth. They worked hard for the privilege of staying in this joyful land. There was time to work and time to celecrate their little creations.

The Creator was clever in his teaching lessons. He knew that they would become bored here too, as they did in the sky world. The Creator decided that he would allow them to learn more about beauty and to test their good hearts. The Creator made all things good and bad. If it were not for the bad things you wouldn't know how good, good was.

One day upon the good earth in amongst some of the most wonderfully upkept flowers and foliage, the Creator placed a caterpillar. It was a hungry little caterpillar and it ate all day long.

The next moring, on seeing these destroying leaves and flowers, the little people became very upset. "who in creation would do such a horrible thing?" they said.

Not too far away they saw a big, green, fat, ugly creature. They were appalled at its ugliness and its destruction of the plants, the little people watched it all day, now knowing what to do.

All it did was eat and eat until something was destroyed. All the little people got together in a council. They wished to destroy the creature, but it was not their way. They called upon the Creator for his advice.

When the Creator came, the little people said, "What purpose does this creature serve? All it does is destroy.. How could you create something like this? It lives to destroy."

The Creator said, "So you have come upon a tiny aspect of my creation that disturbs you. You grow impatient too quickly. This caterpillar is a child. It eats only to grow. You have a role in its development. You may, by your own doing, make this ugly child grow into a beautiful creature. Protect and guide it. Care for this child as if it were your own, and your beauty shall be reflected in its growth. It too has a purpose." With these words the Creator left them.

So the little people cared for the ugly caterpillar. They brough it fresh leaves to eat so

that it would not destroy their other beautiful works. It was hard work. It ate both day and night. It took much energy for them to keep the caterpillar satisfied. They tried to think good thoughts when they were around it. They would even tell the caterpillar as many good things as they could so that it would appreciate all that was good around it. It didn't seem to care though. It only wanted to eat. The little people became less lighthearted because of all of this extra work placed upon them.

One day when they came to feed it, it had grown very drowsy and didn't care to eat the leaves they brought. The little people grew worried and collected an enormous variety of other kinds of leaves and flowers to see if it would eat those. It could not eat. It climbed up onto a twig and hung upside down. Then a hard shell developed around it. The little people used every bit of magic they had, to try to bring the caterpillar back to them.

The little people were very sad. They thought the caterpillar had died. They guarded the place of the caterpillar and everyday they came to mourn the loss. They felt that somehow they had neglected a detail that would have kept the caterpillar alive.

For a long time, the little people came and mourned the loss. They wanted to be reminded that they had failed and that they should take more care in protecting their woods, waters and earth. Every day they gave it a bit of magic in hopes that it would revive.

One day when staring at the dried shell of the caterpillar that still hung from the twig of the tree, they noticed movement. "It's spirit wants to come out," they said. "Our magic is working."

The creature in the shell struggled to come out. It was a very sunny day. All the little people gathered to witness this event.

Then the creature emerged. It's beauty was beyond anything the little people had ever seen before. It had wings that sparkled in the bright sunlight. It reflected every color that was seen in the woods, the waters, and the earth. It was elegant and rich with deep colors.

The little people could not speak. They had never seen such beauty before. When the creature had recovered from its struggle, it spoke to the little people.

"I am a butterfly. Everything about me is a reflection of your care; your good thoughts and your teachings of beauty to

me. I too am elusive, lighthearted, and free as you were. You cared for me and taught me even though I was ugly, and destructive. Through me you have learned that what appears evil and ugly can change, and that beauty and good are better appreciated when you are aware of bad."

I have also a special gift for you from the Creator. The Creator appreciates the heavy burdens of work in his Creation that are upon you.

You now know that the work is hard and its rewards to you come from your hard work. I have come to help you regain your light hearts.

This is an extra special bit of magic that is being bestowed on you through me.

When the work becomes too hard and there seems to be no relief in sight, remember me. Think of the beauty and freedom that I have, because of you. When you think of me, our spirits will become one and you will fly in freedom as I do. Your light unburdened hearts will be renewed.

That is my purpose.

-Salli Kawennotaki Benedict

BOOK REVIEW

FOOD FIRST COMICS - Exploding The Myth of Scarcity! by Leonard Rifas, published by Institute For Food and Development Policy, publisher of "Food First Books" 1885 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94103. 24 pgs, with color cover, footnotes, action guide, $1.00.

In these days of inflation where everything costs a fortune and many people go without food and heat, it is a pleasure to find a comic book written for intelligent teenagers and adults, which discusses the serious topic of hunger. FOOD FIRST COMIC is the adventures of a teenager, Sheri, who wants to know why people are hungry in a world of plenty. She finds there is enough food produced to feed everyone but that control over food products is concentrated in a few corporate hands. One of her major discoveries is that in Third World or "poor, developing" countries the people are starving because large landowners own all the land and the people farm the land for the rich landowners. They do not make enough money to buy back the food needed to feed their families. Sheri finds out it is not overpopulation or lack of food

which causes hunger. The people who produce the food lack control over their land and resources (food produced).

Sheri visits a corporate executive who tells her that hungry people are not only a burden we must support but also a threat because they can be duped by terrorists into upsetting the international order." Sheri realized when these poor people "try to demand their own land they get shot by guns our government sent to their government, we're threatening them." She visits a Filipina elder who told her that most of the land is owned by a few big landowners and "when we tried to organize to get more money they said we were 'agitators' and beat us." Sheri is shocked to learn that the situation he is describing happened in California.

This comic includes two pages which outline, with facts and figures, the cost of concentration of food resources. It lists concentration of land as the first problem. "A U.N. study of 83 Third World countries found that only 3% of the landowners controlled 80% of the farmland. It explodes the myth of "bigger is better" when a "study of 6 Latin American countries showed that small farms produce 3 to 14 times MORE per acre than large farms." The costs to the environment of chemical fertilizers and pesticides is staggering. "A mere 5 corporations control 90% of all international grain shipments." The result of concentration in the market place is that, you, the consumer, pay high prices for food and the people who produced the food are hungry.

The back page explodes four myths of food scarcity. This comic is highly recommended and would be an ideal way to introduce your family, school room, and community to the realities of hunger in this world. For additional information, the Institute for Food and Development Policy publishes a series of books.

-Carol Cornelius Mohawk

BOOK REVIEWS BOOK

In The Spirit Of Crazy Horse, Viking Press, 660 pages. Author: Peter Mathiessen. (To be released in March, 1983.).

It has long been the opinion of Notes editors that the Leonard Peltier story deserved the attention of a superlative writer-- someone of expansive mind, of overwhelming commitment to truth, someone with a clear and steady prose style. When we heard that author Peter Mathiessen (*The Snow Leopard; At Play In The Fields Of The Lord*) had begun the research on just that project, we had high hopes, that, finally, this most important case would deserve the treatment it deserves.

The publishing of *In The Spirit Of Crazy Horse*, scheduled for release this Spring, we feel, more than justifies these hopes.

Mathiessen's is the talent of obvious patience--sensitively, meticulously observant--the hallmark of truthful writing. The patience helps to tell the story and Mathiessen takes his time--slowly at first, precisely, he reviews the history of Lakota-U.S. relations from circa 1835 to 1965, just prior to the rise of the American Indian Movement. The history of the Indian Wars, up until the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre, is, of course, well known. Of interest, thought is the early reservaton period to the 1930's, a time of relative and economic well-being--when the Lakota families settled peacefully on the reservations and developed a ranching and agricultural lifestyle. Mathiessen's analysis of the U.S. government laws and policies (the 1894 Allotment Act; the 1924 Citizenship Act; the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act) and the insensitive and corrupt bureaucracy which eventually shattered the well-being of these Lakota communities is well founded--and adequately prepares the reader for a depth of understanding about the climate of mistrust and violence and fear which settled over the whole of the Northern Great Plains during the turbulent early years of the American Indian Movement.

The Peltier story emerges from the cultural and economic oppression of the Ojibway and Lakota Peoples during that time and symbolizes the struggle waged by the American Indian Movement. It is a story about the Indian People coming together to challenge the violent racism of the "frontier mentality" still prevalent among many white people of the Midwestern states; of the confrontations that ensued and the way the various Indian, federal and State institutions involved reacted or over reacted to those events; it is the story, too, of the dual system of justice--police systems, reformatories, courts, prisons--designed to continually destroy the spirit and family ways of Native Peoples; it is a story of many, many people being killed.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, a wave of anti-indian violence seemed to sweep the Midwest area of the United States. In bars, in desolate reservation roads, on the streets of the urban centers Indians were being shot, knifed, burned and clubbed to death at an alarming rate. In murder after murder, Indian mothers and their families were demanding justice and protection. Organizations of the people, survival groups and schools, and warrior and medicine societies sprang up throughout the region, and an Indian grandmother in a basement in Minneapolis told the people that "since they seemed to be moving on so many things, and since Indian People have always moved around, they should call themselves the American Indian Movement."

Caravans of Indian People, the American Indian Movement, travelled the region in the early 1970's--going from place to place where a particularly brutal murder had occurred. They went to Gordon, Nebraska, when Raymond Yellow Thunder was forced to guzzle whole bottles of whiskey, stripped naked, burned with cigarettes and stomped to death in the snow; to Custer, South Dakota, when Wesley Bad Heartbull was knifed by two white men who not oniy were let loose, but continued to brag about the incident; they went to the source--the BIA Headquarters in Washington, D.C.; they went to the village of Wounded Knee in 1973.

It is estimated that 300 to 600 people came to politically-related violent deaths between 1973-1977 as a result of these conditions and the conflicts they engendered; the overwhelming numbers of these victims were indians.

Leonard Peltier, one of the warrior/activists to emerge from the American Indian Movement came to national and international attention as a result of his participation in but one of the many violent incidents that occurred during that period. There was, however, a crucial difference on that particular occassion: one Indian had certainly died--but to the consternation and shock of the American Justice System, two F.B.I. agents had also been killed.

In The Spirit Of Crazy Horse is Peter Mathiessen's account of that day and the subsequent endeavors of, first, the F.B.I. and, then, the Federal Bureau of Prisons to intimidate, incriminate (possibly eliminate) people and fabricate evidence in order to "get Leonard Peltier." It is the story, too, of a generous and brave-hearted warrior's growth as a human being, a political thinker and a patriot.

We recommend Peter Mathiessen's book. The man has an ear for the reality of things and the staying power for the comprehensive, long-term view. Immediately indispensible.

----Ismaelillo

SHANDAA, In My Lifetime, told by Belle Herbert, published by Alaska Native Language Center, Univ. of Alaska, 302 Chapman Building, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701. Illus. photos, 207 pgs. in Cwich'in Athabaskan and English, 1982. $10.00 plus $1.50 for postage.

Belle Herbert lived most of her life in a pre-Colombian lifestyle until gold was discovered in Alaska. Her birthdate has been difficult to determine but events she witnessed put her somewhere between the age of 105 and 127. She passed away in the fall of 1982.

SHANDAA is her life story as she told it in Gwich'in Athabaskan. Each page contains her original talk and an English translation. She lived in the small village of Chalkyitsik travelling only short distances from there. Each chapter begins with explanatory notes, clarification of dates, identification of people and description of terms used by Belle.

"Ah! Grandchild, times were very hard and people worked hard.
Grandchild, we survived on the food they hunted and shot.
If we stayed in one place, there wouldn't be any food."

The focus of SHANDAA is Belle's early life. She takes the reader through moose and caribou hunts. She tells of a time when Alaska had thick herds of caribou ("There was really a lot of food.") and relates stories of rabbit snaring, ducks shot with arrows--reflections of survival in a harsh climate.

"At that time, we were really poor.
But we survived out here, our families would take care of us, so we had things."

The extended family system was really strong during her time. Her father died when she was still young, leaving her mother with several children to raise.

She tells of a time and a place when her people possesed skills that made them self-reliant--ofof bark houses used in the summer, making and setting up skin tents in the winter, and fur blankets. They tanned hides and made fur pants, with fur feet, fur parkas, fur mittens and rabbit skin caps and blankets. The men made tobaggans and snowhoes and did the hunting. She describes the women's skills insewing, tanning skins, taking care of sled dogs, getting food ready, going to get the meat with the dog sled, keeping the fires and gathering firewood. "Women never kept still," she relates. At several points in her story she tells of being extremely poor and says the women worked much harder than the men. This book is not a glorified image of the old days. It is painfully truthful in presenting both the joys and hardships of survival living. That in itself is refreshing in these times of glorifying the "good old days." Yet, Belle offers some insight on changes in society. She relates how much people helped each other in the old days and that now it seems people would rather kill each other.

There is also much family history. She tells of her own marriage, which was an arranged marriage. Several stories are related which emphasize the importance of good work habits in a marriage partner as more important than good looks.

With the coming of the white man many things changed. She tells of some changes which were positive such as cloth, kettles, knives, guns, etc. but the men then began to trap fur animals such as mink, marten, and fox.

Belle Herbert lived through the time of travelling by dog sled to gold strikes, the coming of the white men, and the memory of seeing an airplane for the first time. The purpose of SHANDAA is to capture her early life. It would have been interesting if the book had included more of her last 50 years and her thoughts on the changes she saw in her world. Reading Belle's lifestory is a journey which we can only experience vicariously but it is a journey well worth experiencing.

— Carol Cornelius Mohawk

SHORT NOTES

WOUNDED KNEE MEMORIAL PLANNED

Porcupine, S.D. - The 10th anniversay of Wounded Knee is planned for February 25-27, 1983. The memorial will honor those who have paid the supreme sacrifice and will pay tribute to all those people who participated in the 1973 liberation.

Anyone with addresses of Wounded Knee veterans or pictures is asked to contact: Ted Means, P.O. Box 99, Porcupine, SD 57772 or call Lakota Communications at (605) 867-5002.

ANOTHER INDIAN KILLED IN RACIST INCIDENT

Custer, S.D. - An elderly Oglala Lakota, Mr. Ivan Kills Rights, was killed by a hit and run driver near Custer, South Dakota in September. This was the second such racist incident involving the death of an Indian in recent months.

He was apparently walking along the highway and was struck by a vehicle. Whether the driver deliberately hit him because he was an Indian (as was the case in the previous death of Phillip Red Elk) or whether it was an accident and the driver did not stop because he was Indian, both reflect the racist attitude of white S.D. residents, where an Indian's life is worth less than that of a white person's according to the frontier mentality which still exists in this state.

The Custer County Sheriff's Dept. claims that it still has no suspects in the case. It was these same Custer County officials who recently made several arrests in connection with the Crazy Horse Camp and who abused several of the Indians during the arrest procedure. These same officials made inflammatory remarks to the Indians and to the news media during the arrest.

Guatemala to Reduce Its Demands Over Belize; Twelve Thousand Indians Affected

GUATEMALA Jan.13 (Reuters) - President Efrain Rios Montt of Guatemala says that his Government intends to drop its demand in talks with Britain this month for sovereignty over all of the neighboring former British colony of Belize.

At an impromptu news conference Wednesday at the capital's air force base, Mr. Rios Montt said his Government would press instead for ownership of the southernmost fifth of Belize.

The claimed area, known as Toledo, is a sparsely-settled mountain region holding 12,000 people, **predominantly Indians.** (emphasis added) Belize, with a population of 150,000, gained independence in 1981 after more than 300 years of British rule.

PELTIER DENIED NEW TRIAL

In April 1982, Peltier's legal counsel filed a motion for a new trial. This motion was based on documents released under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) which revealed that the FBI had knowingly fabricated key evidence used to convict Peltier.

On December 30, 1982, U.S. District Court Judge Paul Benson (the same judge who presided at the original trial, and who refused to allow any testimony on F.B.I. misconduct) again refused to hold evidentiary hearings, and "flatly denied" defense motion for a new trial.

Peltier's defense team had requested that Judge Benson disqualify himself, based on an additional FOIA document which revealed that Benson improperly met with the U.S. Attorney's Office and other government agents prior to presiding in the original trial.

Judge Benson also denied the motion to disqualify himself as Peltier's trial judge.

On Jan. 7, 1983, Peltier's attorney filed notice to appeal at the District Court in Fargo, No. Dakota.

A realistic view of this hostile act by Judge Paul Benson brings much concern to the Public Eye as to how U.S. Judicial representatives can repeatedly continue to obstruct the justice system, "when evidence of conspiracy is so clear". In addition, he has abused his Judiciary appointment powers to follow the *law* by committing these acts to cover any public exposure of other government officials involved.

We respectfully ask that Leonard's many dedicated and growing supporters be patient until the LPDC can restrategize efforts of how you may continue to support Leonard's next legal approach. Leonard asks that you stay strong and don't give up, as the people's fight for Equality and Justice is going to take a lot of serious sacrifice and positive work to make his freedom a reality soon....Peace....Strength

In Struggle and Solidarity
Leonard Peltier Defense Committee

INDIAN MINERAL DEVELOPMENT ACT IS PASSED

The Indian Mineral Development Act of 1982 was passed in the lame duck session of Congress. Since the Administration supported the bill, it is expected that the President will enact the bill into law with his signature. Congressman Morris Udall, describing the bill said it "provides authority for Indian tribes to enter into various business venture agreements for the development of their interests in oil, gas, coal and other minerals. Under existing law, they are limited, for all practical purposes, to the use of lease for such development. This bill would permit them to take greater business risks with the opportunity for greater return on their resources." The Act requires the Secretary of the Interior to publish regulations for the implementation of the act within six months.

REPEAL OF SUBSISTENCE LAWS DEFEATED

ALASKA - One of the major concerns of Alaska Natives in the November 2 election was ballot measure No. 7 which called for the repeal of subsistence hunting and fishing laws which gave priorities to rural Alaskans--mostly Natives.

Supporting the repeal measure were sportsmen and urban dwellers. The issue received a tremendous amount of publicity and public debate. Reports from Alaska, though still not complete, indicate that the measure was defeated and the subsistence laws remain unchanged.

IRS CONCEDES INDIAN GIVE-AWAY DEDUCTIBLE AS RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTION

The United States Internal Revenue Service on November 29 agreed to allow costs incurred in the give-away and noon-day feasts of the Crow chapter of the Native American Church to be deducted as charitable contributions. In the case of Barney Old Coyote vs. Commissioner of Internal Revenue Service, the IRS questioned whether the give-away and noon-day feast were social events for the benefit of the peyote ceremony sponsor and thus like wedding celebrations and bar mitzvahs for which contributions are not allowed under the IRS code. Testimony from Indian witnessess apparently convinced the IRS that they were integral religious elements of the Native American Church ceremony.

INDIAN MINERAL LEASE ACTIVITIES WILL BECOME A BIA RESPONSIBILITY

Interior Secretary James Watt has ordered the transfer of mineral leasing activities for Indian lands from the Minerals Management Service (MMS) to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The order, signed December 3, must be implemented not later than June 1, 1983. Functions to be transferred to the BIA include: minerals assessment for land use planning; economic evaluation and determination of fair market value; exploration and mining plan review and approval; onsite supervision for exploration; lease terms and conditions and special stipulations; NEPA compliance; and enforcement of lease terms. Prior to this transfer to the B.I.A., the MMS will continue to have responsibility for the off-shore leasing and production program and will have complete control of minerals royalty management. A summary of the Secretarial order states that the "transfer of onshore minerals functions from the MMS to the BIA will also achieve a more integrated management of Indian lands, permitting a greater degree of control by tribes over the use and development of the minerals on those lands." Until the assignment of geologists, petroleum and mining engineers and other technicians to the BIA is completed, Indian leases will be handled, together with federal leases, by the BLM or MMS.

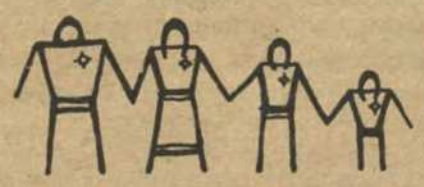
Reagan Policy continued from page 22

*Request that Congress repudiate House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress which called for termination of the Federal-tribal relationship. The Administration wants this lingering threat of termination withdrawn and replaced by a resolution espressing its support of a government-to-government relationship.
*Support for direct funding to Indian tribes under Title XX social services block grants to States. In keeping with the government-to-government relationship, Indian tribes are defined by law as eligible entities and receive direct funding, if they wish, in five block grant programs administered by the Dept. of Health and Human Services. These and other blocks to the States consolidated dozens of categorical Federal domestic assistance programs to reduce fragmentation and overlap, eliminate excessive Federal regulation, and provide for more local control. This Administration proposed that Indian tribes be eligible for direct funding in the Title XX social service block, the block with the largest appropriation and the greatest flexibility in service delivery. Grants for social services would be made directly to the tribal governments, at the option of the Tribe, and would not be channeled through the States.

--To solve the severe economic conditions on reservations, the President has:

*Established a Presidential Advisory Committee on Indian Reservation Economies. The Commission is to identify obstacles to economic growth in the public and private sector at all levels; examine and recommend changes in Federal laws, regulations and procedures to remove such obstacles; identify actions State, local and tribal governments could take to rectify identified problems; and recommend ways for the private sector, both Indian and non-Indian, to participate in the development and growth of reservation economies. It will advise the President on actions needed to improve reservation economies
*Pledged to work with the tribes to implement expeditiously recently passed legislation allowing tribes to enter into joint venture contracts for the development of natural resources on reservations. This is a major step which will enable the tribal governments to become more proficient in business management while increasing employment opportunities for tribal members and adding to tribal revenues.
*Requested funds in the FY 1983 budget to provide seed money to tribes to attract private funding for economic development ventures on reservations.
*Initiated legislation which Congress passed to provide $375 million for building new roads on Indian reservations.

--This Administration sought suggestions from Indian leaders in developing this policy.



TO SEE OUR COMPLETE LINE OF PRODUCTS SEND FOR OUR:

1983 PRODUCTS CATALOGUE

This season we are featuring world renowned Black Ash Split and Sweetgrass Baskets. Also including Corn Husk Dolls, Beadwork, Ribbon Shirts, as well as our Books and Posters. $1.00

AKWESASNE NOTES CALENDARS

We have discontinued printing calendars because many Indian groups are now publishing calendars.

WE ARE CLEARING OUR STOCK OF CALENDARS. Each of our **calendars** contain unique artwork worthy of framing, as well as inspiring quotes. We have a limited supply so order yours now. The following calendars are available:

1982—Creation Story
1981—White Roots of Peace and the Great Law
1980—10th Anniversary
1979—Native Artists
1978—Self-Sufficiency
1974—"This Is Our Land"

$2.00 EACH

AVAILABLE — A NEW BOOKLET

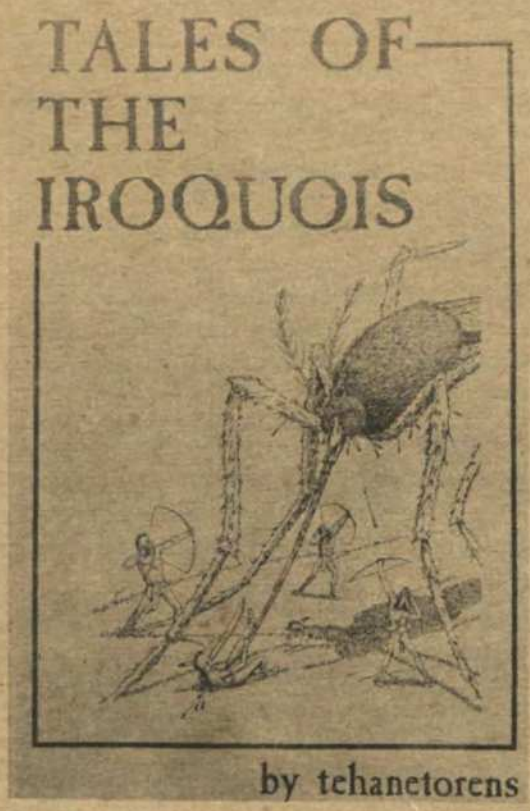
A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL — NATION REBUILDING IN THE LAND OF THE MOHAWKS

A portrait of Akwesasnes' innovative projects directed towards regaining control of the five areas of sovereignty within our Nation. Contains a fictional look at the future — disaster or survival. "How much Technology is Appropriate" raises questions of survival.

$3.00

AKWESASNE

A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL
Nation Rebuilding in the Land of the Mohawks



CHILDREN'S BOOK:
by TEHANETORENS, Mohawk Elder
Illustrated by KAHOINHES, Mohawk Artist

This issue of TALES OF THE IROQUOIS has been expanded to include Tehanetorens' CONSERVATION — As the Indian Saw It.

EACH OF THE 16 TEACHING LEGENDS IS PACKED WITH A THOUGHT-PROVOKING, INSIGHTFUL LESSON FOR CHILDREN AS WELL AS ADULTS.
$5.00

BOOKS

HISTORICAL

Custer Died For Your Sins, by Vine Deloria. Paperback, $2.95

Invasion Of America, by Francis Jennings. Excellent work on Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest. $4.95

History of the Five Indian Nations, by Cadwalleder Colden. $2.95

7 Generations, by D. Blanchard. The history of the Mohawk people at Caughnawaga. Created for use as a textbook by the Caughnawaga Survival School. $19.50

Wampum Belts, by Tehanetorens, Six Nations Indian Museum. History and pictures of wampum belts of the Iroquois. $3.00

CHILDREN'S

Cheer Up Old Man, by David Martinson. A story of an old man with a warm heart. Excellent for children. $1.25

North American Indian Design Coloring Book, by Paul Kennedy. Designed to show the richness of Indian art. $1.75

Tales From The Longhouse of British Columbia, by Indian children of British Columbia. $2.95

The Bird in the Sugarbush. Excellent for young children. $1.25

The Last Snowfall, Iroquoian legend adapted for early reading levels. By Catherine Steel, Illustrations by Myron Clute (Mohawk). This should be included in reading programs because it is culturally relevant curriculum. 15 pgs. $3.25

SKILLS AND HOW TO

American Indian Needlepoint Design, by Roslyn Epstein. Designs for many projects. Paperback, **$1.95**

American Indian Languages, ppk. $2.45

Craft Manual of Native American Indian Footwear, by George White. Introduction to 25 different styles of footwear. $2.50

Indian Herbology of North America, by Alma R. Hutchens. $14.95

Indian Sign Language, by William Tomkins, signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. $2.25

CONTEMPORARY

Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties, by Vine Deloria. An Indian Declaration of Independence. $5.95

God is Red, by Vine Deloria ... is an alternative to Christianity through ... to Indian beliefs and concepts. $6.95 Out of Print

Native Harvests, Recipes and Botanicals of the American Indian, by Barrie Kavasch. $5.95

Roots of Oppression: The American Indian Question, by Steve Talbot. The story of the nature and history of the dispossession of the Native people in the U.S. $4.75

The Life and Death of Anna Mae Aquash, by Johanna Brand. Anna Mae was a Micmac sister who fought and died for the cause of Indian people. The FBI hounded her, persecuted her, slandered her on purpose and very likely killed her. $8.95

Alternative Papers: Stories, Events, and Issues that the Mass Media Ignored, Distorted, Buried, or Missed Altogether, Selected from Alternative Magazines, Newspapers, Journals, and Spradicals. 520 pgs., indexed. $14.95

James Bay Project — A River Drowned by Water, by R. Wittenborn and C. Biegert 1981, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, printed in West Germany, written in English and French, 284 pgs., illus. $25.00

Native Peoples in Struggle, detailed cases that Native People have presented at various international forums. ppk. $13.00

PHILOSOPHY

The Way, by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. A collection of Native writings for young and old. $3.95

The White Roots of Peace, by Dr. Paul Wallace. A fine hardcover edition of the classic story of the founding of the Haudenósaune (Iroquois) Confederacy. $7.95

PLEASE NOTE

POSTERS No. 16 out of stock indefinately

POSTERS AND BQOKS: For faster shipment of your order please list you second choice in case we do not have in stock the desired posters or books.

basic call to consciousness

BASIC CALL TO CONSCIOUSNESS

A new edition, a new book. Five new chapters have been added to this small classic of the Native movement. They include: The Hau De No Sau Nee: A Nation Since Time Immemorial, by Segwalise; Thoughts of Peace: The Great Law, by Sotsisowah; Deskaheh: An Iroquois Patriot's Fight for International Recognition; Geneva 77: A Report on the Hemispheric Movement of Indigenous Peoples, by Ismaelillo; The Original — A Basic Call to Consciousness, The Hau De No Sau Nee Address to the Western World; and Our Strategy for Survival, by Sotsisowah. A new, full-color cover and several photographs from international events are also featured. $5.50.

PAGANS IN OUR MIDST

PAGANS exposes the true nature of journalistic racism in the years 1885-1910. The focus is on the Onondaga, Mohawk, and Seneca Nations of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy. $6.95.

TALES OF THE IROQUOIS

Presents sixteen teaching legends written by a Mohawk author, Tehanetorens. Illustrated by Mohawk artist, Kahonhes. $5.00

I WOULD LIKE TO SUBSCRIBE TO AKWESASNE NOTES

PLEASE, ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION AS A NEW_____ RENEWAL_____

Make my subscription (please circle cost):	USA	CANADA/MEXICO	FOREIGN
Air Mail	---	---	$30.00
Express:	$14.00	$14.00	$20.00
Regular:	$ 8.00	$10.00	$15.00

NAME:

ADDRESS:

CITY AND STATE:

ZIP CODE/COUNTRY:

RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTION PLEASE ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

My last issue was Month___Year_____ TOTAL MONEY ENCLOSED $_____

TWOBORN

The Sacrifice
(Twoborn to Aionwatha
and Rokwaho)

"Thou art both become apostles
and servants to the Light I bear
from the Masters Of Life...
Thy knowledge exceeds thy wisdom
and thou art yet impetuous
in thy zeal to defend
and proliferate the New Mind...
Yes..for the sake of expediency
I could destroy Atataho
..at the expense and sacrifice
of rivers of warrior blood
we could conceivably crush his bones
..sever his ring of power
and cast them to the nether
reaches of darkness
to abide there vanquished
..humiliated..and..angry
..I have been to darkness
and I know that such
are not without power...

Yes..I possess the knowledge
and power to overcome
and bury the Carnal Mind
of Tawiskaro..because I am
Tawiskaro..and..I am
Oterontonnia
..I stand in balanced duality
between these Minds of paradox
..and I possess the absolute knowledge
and power of both in either hand...
But I implore you both
to reach for comprehension
of Universal Wisdom...
No peace shall endure that is
founded on blood
..for it shall have been won
through the Mind and Carnal power
of Tawiskaro
..and..in the end
Tawiskaro shall prevail
because the conscience
of the New Mind
shall fester its own decay...

Sacrifice instead thy Will
to Mercy and behold the Truth
and Light of the Masters of Life...
May you then perceive
that forgiving is the practice of Love..
and that Love is the path
through the Great Mystery
to the Eternal Light of our
Creators' spirit..."

..rokwaho..
7/24/82

Waiting for the Baby to be Born

Smell of sweetgrass
wafting in air
child emerging, woman birthing
bringing forth
carrying, holding
laboring
pushing now
out, out, open, out
From
great mountain
of crystal and crimson
great lodge
of steam and sweat
and sage waters

What calls the salmon
upstream to spawn?

What calls the oceans
to fall with the moon?

Come, precious child
come to flint and soft mosses
come to berries and corn

Your Grandmother calls you
Winds of all colors
they greet you.

-Tekatsitsiakwa

We must bring about
a total interplay of all our senses ---

-- develop a deep reverence for life ---
that will not let us
crush a growing plant ---
nor kill a little spider
--- simply because it's there ---

but let us understand
that the web that it is spinning
is a necessary strand
all life is involved ....

As individuals
we must seek a new consciousness
--- we are not spectators ---
the fight is ours

--- now ---

- Edward J. Guillemette
May 1981, The Greater Lowell Indian
Cultural Assoc.

ATLAS

I have never written about you
before now.
A quiet, beautiful person who bears
my children.
Most patient, full of love, full of life.
Some day your eyes will shine
with the things you desire.

I am rich in love, but poor in wealth.
The patience I ask is for me.
A father and husband must carry a
heavy load.
He too, gets tired and weary.
He tries as hard as he can, but sometimes
the rain washes his dreams away.

Though he tries, sometimes failing,
sometimes winning, look and try
to understand not just on the outside
but on the inside.

Stay beautiful inside, don't worry
too much on the outside.

Skaroniate

WOUNDED KNEE

(February 27, 1983) Copyright by
William M. Kunstler

The caravan of trucks and antique
cars
Meandered south throughout
the moonless night,
An exodus beneath the passive
stars
That mirrored back the spirit's
shining light.
Somewhere along the way the
word was passed
That journey's end would be
the common mound
Beneath whose earth three hun-
dred souls were massed,
The guardians of the liberated
ground.
A rawhide drum began its solemn
beat,
In rythmic cadence to an
eagle's scream,
The waiting ghosts were springing
to their feet
As their relations crossed the
little stream.
In scores of phantom pipes the
birch wood burned
In silent joy for those who had
returned.

-Bill